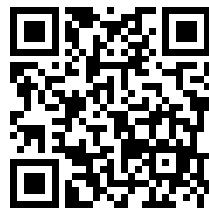

This is a reproduction of a library book that was digitized by Google as part of an ongoing effort to preserve the information in books and make it universally accessible.

GoogleTM books

<https://books.google.com>



UC-NRLF



B 4 235 878

ETNOLOGISKA STUDIER

29

AUTHORITY AND CHANGE

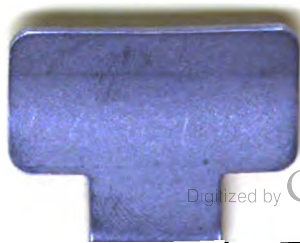
A STUDY OF THE KALLU INSTITUTION AMONG THE
MACHA GALLA OF ETHIOPIA

BY

KARL ERIC KNUTSSON

ETNOGRAFISKA MUSEET

GÖTEBORG



For Gerald with thanks
Karlrice


1972

ETNOLOGISKA STUDIER

29

AUTHORITY AND CHANGE

A STUDY OF THE KALLU INSTITUTION AMONG THE
MACHA GALLA OF ETHIOPIA

BY

KARL ERIC KNUTSSON

GÖTEBORG

1967

Copyright 1967
by
Etnografiska Museet, Göteborg

Printed in Sweden

GÖTEBORG 1967
ELANDERS BOKTRYCKERI AKTIEBOLAG

GN
1
E72
v. 29
ANTH

CONTENTS

Foreword	5
Acknowledgements	10
Note on orthography	12
I. Introduction	13
i. The problem	13
ii. Problems of explanation	14
iii. Authority: etymology and definitions	20
iv. Authority and influence	25
v. Final authority	27
vi. The plan of the book	29
II. Outline of the Macha society	30
i. The Galla of Ethiopia: some general notes	30
ii. Ecology	34
iii. Settlement	35
iv. Tribe, clan and lineage	37
III. Division of reality	43
i. Introduction	43
ii. The concept of <i>waka</i>	47
iii. The concept of <i>ayana</i>	53
iv. Macha ritual topography	56
v. The concept of Man	58
vi. Ritual roles	60
vii. Ritual and time	61
IV. The kallu and his ritual	65
i. Introduction	65
ii. The kallu and his <i>ayana</i>	67
iii. The kallu's ritual house	83
iv. Kallu paraphernalia	86
v. The <i>dallaga</i> ritual	90

V. The kallu in society	94
i. Introduction	94
ii. The kallu and his household	94
iii. The kallu and the clan	96
iv. The <i>worega</i> system	97
v. The system of branch <i>galmas</i>	99
vi. The recruitment of 'followers'	101
vii. Economics of the kallu institution	101
viii. Relations with other kallus	102
ix. The birth of a kallu	105
x. The kallu and the system of justice	109
xi. Cases	115
xii. The kallu as 'legislator'	131
xiii. Summary	133
VI. Background of the kallu institution	135
i. Ritual experts in Macha	135
ii. The kallu among the southern Galla	142
iii. Abba Muda	147
iv. Connections with other ritual complexes in Ethiopia	151
v. Summary	154
VII. Organizations of authority	156
i. Introduction	156
ii. The gada type of organization	160
iii. The gada system among the Borana	161
iv. The gada system among the Tulama	169
v. The gada system in eastern Macha	176
vi. The situation in eastern Macha at the time of the incorporation	181
VIII. Final authority and organizational change	185
i. Introduction	185
ii. A comparison of authority organizations	185
iii. The process of change	202
Appendices I-VI	208
Galla glossary	225
Index	227
Bibliography	234

ILLUSTRATIONS

Figures

Fig. 1. The Galla of Ethiopia, map	31
Fig. 2. Clans of Liban Kutai and Liban Ammaya	38
Fig. 3. The chief kallus of Abebe and Dada	69
Fig. 4. The patriline of the chief kallu of Sullo	73
Fig. 5. Plan of <i>galma</i>	84
Fig. 6. The Borana gada system: organization of ruling class	169
Fig. 7. Tulama gada system: organization of ruling <i>luba</i> class	177

Tables

Table 1. Judicial procedures	129
Table 2. Chart of historical periods and major events	184

Plates

	facing page
Plate 1. Highland scene in eastern Macha	140
Plate 2. Reading the <i>mora</i>	140
Plate 3. <i>Sida</i> stones and traditional <i>galma</i>	141
Plate 4. 'Modern' <i>galma</i>	141

.

FOREWORD

This book is based mainly on research carried out among the Galla of Ethiopia during the years 1960 to 1964. The major part of the field work was done among the Macha Galla, particularly in the Liban tribal region. Here I lived during my first period in the field, November 1960 to July 1961, and later, three months in all, during my second period in Ethiopia from September 1962 to June 1964. During this latter stay I worked for shorter periods among various other Galla groups in Wollega, Arussi, Borana, and Shoa. Together these trips comprised four months of field work. To this should be added a number of trips to check or complete my material during various phases of the preliminary writing-up period in the years 1963 and 1964.

The work that I am now presenting on the basis of these studies is not intended as a monograph on Macha society and culture. Instead I have chosen to limit my description and my analysis to one special institution.

This approach was the result of a combination of factors. Since no recent anthropological studies of the Galla existed at that time—neither Haberland's nor Lewis' books had been published—it was necessary to make as complete an investigation as possible of Macha life in all its many aspects. At the same time my theoretical interest was focused on ritual problems, especially on ritual as a system of communication. Because of this my attention was directed at an early stage to the kallu institution in which the Macha ritual life today is mainly centered.

The role of the kallu, however, is not restricted to the ritual sphere. He also plays an important—not to say dominant—part in the local organization of authority in general as a judge, as an expert on customs, and as the one person who can give authoritative answers to many different problems.

A closer examination of the kallu as a ritual professional and also as a functionary in the present local organization of justice raised questions concerning the background and development of his 'two' roles. These questions in their turn led me to extend my field work to other areas of the Ethiopian Gallaland and to consider a number of literary and tradition sources as well.

Owing to this concentration on the kallu institution, my book has become more specialized than I at first envisaged. It does not, for instance, contain any detailed description of family and kinship structure or of economic organization.¹ At the same time limiting it to one central and, from the sociological point of view, multi-dimensional institution has necessitated a discussion of many questions which in studies of Western societies are being dealt with by a great number of specialists. To indicate, particularly for the non-anthropologist, the analytical range of these questions I should like to mention some of the topics that I have had to take up: Macha cosmology, the concept of Divinity, the Macha theory of ritual action, strategies for the recruitment of followers, the functioning of a combined official and local-traditional system of justice, decision-making and communication of authority in class-systems.

So much for my material. My methods of study have been those traditionally used by anthropologists in the field. During the entire first period I lived in the compound of an 'average' Macha farmer. Using this as a base I did most of my work in an area comprising about 500 scattered homesteads distributed mainly on the two more densely populated altitude zones, the highland, *dega*, and the medium level, *woyna dega*.

I participated as much as possible in the local life without pressing myself upon my hosts. I was fortunate in being introduced into the area by a man who had many relatives and friends there. By these I was regarded in a joking and generous way as a brother to my introducer. Various other people, according to the nature of their relationship to him, treated me as a son, a brother-in-law, an uncle, etc. . Sometimes I chose to identify myself, also jokingly, with the clan of my neighbour and host. This humorous assimilation was appreciated by the Macha and helped to create favourable attitudes which facilitated my first steps towards participation. Throughout my stay I tried, when it did not negatively affect my work, to observe the Macha rules of etiquette and respect that applied to a man of my age.

Usually I collected my material in the homes of the people concerned. Irrespective of whether my aim was to fill in demographic forms or to get genealogical or some other kind of information, I found this method the most rewarding. When I had informants singly or in groups come to my camp, they were often disturbed by curious crowds and by the peculiar paraphernalia of the anthropologist. In their own homes I

¹ To these aspects I hope to return in other contexts.

was the stranger and guest to be taken care of. There they felt at ease. In this way I was given a great deal of additional information plus the opportunity to participate in a wider range of activities than I would otherwise have had, not to mention the good food and the excellent barley beer to which I was treated.

When I felt reasonably at home and had gathered a first minimum of general material, I started to work more intensively with especially knowledgeable informants. From time to time I tried to readjust my informant policy on the basis of the accumulated material.²

After about three months in the field, I had been able to establish good contacts with some of the kallus in my region, among them one of the best known and most respected kallus in all of eastern Macha. I was permitted to participate in the kallu rituals and given unrestricted opportunities for observing and recording. I was also invited to accompany the 'chief' kallu on his journeys between his different shrines.

When I was completely accepted as a participant in the kallu rituals, most of my problems of contact were over. Because I was approved by the person who theoretically should have been the last to reveal his knowledge to an outsider, I was automatically trusted by most people, although now and again some suspicion would flare up.

Unfortunately it was rather late in my first stay that I discovered the importance of the kallu judicial function. For this reason the case material I can present in this study is somewhat meagre. All but one of the recorded cases occurred during a period of five months in 'my' region and I was able to observe directly the procedures in all cases except those handled by official courts.

Because of my interest in the background of the present situation my material contains references to oral traditions as well as to earlier literary sources. I am aware that I am trespassing here on the historian's territory. As an anthropologist I do not regard myself as an historian, but I hold that the anthropologist should try to learn from the historian in the use of his sources. This does not mean that I have tried to make a systematic investigation of the structure of the oral tradition itself. Such a task must be left to the anthropologically trained historian. I have limited my ambition to employing certain precautionary rules. Thus I have never used a tradition told by only one informant. By requiring it to be given by several

² Elsewhere (Knutsson 1966) I have discussed some of the methodological problems connected with the use of informants.

independent informants, I could at least guard against the possibility that it was fabricated to satisfy the anthropologist. I have never used oral traditions for making a chronological reconstruction but only as indicators of certain major changes in the Macha society: the disintegration of the gada system and the development of the present kallu institution. Where possible I have tried to point out propaganda interests in the groups to which the tradition transmitters belong as well as the use of mythical stereotypes to enhance the validity of a tradition. I have also tried to compare oral traditions with existing literary sources.

One of the main practical problems for the field worker is that of language. Before leaving for Macha I was only able to obtain a short introduction to the Galla language by a student of the University College in Addis Ababa. Because of the limited time at my disposal during my first period and the uncertainty of a second trip, I could not concentrate on the language as much as I should have wished. However, by the end of my first stay I understood it fairly well, although I could not easily partake in conversations on every topic or follow the rapid talk of quarrels and litigation. Parts of the ritual language also proved difficult to grasp fully because of often highly contracted sentences and many archaic forms. In these cases the tape-recorder and the assistance of my excellent interpreters were invaluable.

Another central problem in field work is connected with the role of the anthropologist in the society he is investigating. The choice of a role intelligible to his hosts and adequate for his purposes is regarded by most anthropologists as essential to a successful field strategy. In this context I am, however, eager to state that the kind of acceptance that I enjoyed should not be regarded as the result of some sophisticated anthropological technique. In the end the only key to contact, acceptance, and knowledge lies in a relation of mutual understanding and trust between the field worker and his hosts. At an early stage I was accepted because of my neighbours' solidarity with my introducer and the officials' loyalty to the authorities who had issued my working permission. To deepen and expand this preliminary acceptance I did not at any time try to imitate a role that might have been familiar or seemed plausible to the Macha. Instead whenever I was questioned about my purposes—and these, of course, were often suspected to be bad—I tried to explain what I was actually doing and why studies of this kind needed to be done. By referring to Macha's own experience of other ethnic groups and the differences of customs between them the discussions could be carried on in a meaningful way. Thus we

usually reached a common 'platform' of agreement which then served as a foundation for the Macha understanding and acceptance of my presence, participation, and innumerable questions. In this way the doubters themselves often formulated the reasons for my work: ignorance of other peoples creates fear of them and fear leads to hatred and perhaps violence; knowledge, on the other hand, creates respect and sympathy and reduces the danger of fear and hatred; to increase knowledge we must settle among each other and learn from each other. Having reached this consensus on principles I could explain my methods of working and how the results would be used.

This creating of my own role instead of imitating one had the considerable advantage of not forcing me to pretend or to give false reasons for my investigation. In some cases it actually stimulated informants to take an active interest in their own culture. I was, for instance, asked to have texts transcribed in Amharic writing so that they could be kept for the next generation.

I am well aware that not all the Macha with whom I came in contact conceived of my role only in the way I have outlined here. I was, for instance, a focus for interest and curiosity because of my behaviour. Even to those who were critical of my presence, association with me was certainly a source of prestige. I was also looked upon as a man with great resources despite my efforts to keep camp equipment and belongings at an absolute minimum. In order not to encourage attitudes of this kind I made it a rule never to compensate anyone for information or to give any gifts. I sometimes invited neighbours and friends in much the same manner as they invited me. I also gave simple medical treatment, bandaging wounds, washing eyes, and applying ointments. In serious cases I took patients to the mission hospital in Ambo. Only at the end of my field periods did I give presents to those who had been special informants or had helped me in other ways.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

For my field work I have received financial support from UNESCO, the Swedish Council for Humanistic Research, the University of Göteborg, Wilhelm and Martina Lundgren's Foundation for Scientific Research, the Swedish Academy of Science, the Vega Foundation and the Letterstedtska Foundation.

During my continued studies at home I have held a research fellowship at the University of Göteborg. Some of the costs for the preparation of the manuscript have been covered by a grant from the Swedish Social Science Research Council. To all these bodies I wish to extend my thanks. To a generous patron and friend I am greatly obliged for his financial assistance and unfailing concern.

To my teacher in anthropology, Professor Karl Gustav Izikowitz, I owe a special debt of gratitude. He has not only lent me his constant support but has also inspired and stimulated my work by introducing new ideas and suggesting unorthodox viewpoints.

The late Professor Erland Ehnmark, who introduced me to the field of comparative religion, I shall always remember for his enthusiastic encouragement. I am deeply grateful that I had the opportunity of discussing with him my material on ritual.

For their interest and criticism I am much indebted to many colleagues and friends, anthropologists and non-anthropologists; particularly Professor Håkan Törnebohm and the Theory of Science seminar, (Göteborg); Professor Fredrik Barth and his seminar, (Bergen); Professor Åke Holmberg, Dr. Per Hultqvist, Dr. Åke Wedin, Mr. Arne Lexander F.K., Mr. Olof Djurfeldt F.L., Mr. Anthony Jackson M.A., F.L., (Göteborg); Dr. Olof Pettersson, Mr. Jan Thulin F.M., (Lund), and the Rev. Martin Nordfeldt.

I cannot here thank individually all the people in Ethiopia who gave me help and hospitality and shared their knowledge with me. I should like, however, to thank especially, in the order that I met them, Mr George Savard M.A., then associate professor in anthropology at the University College of Addis Ababa; Dr. and Mrs. Fride Hylander, then chief adviser to the Ministry of Public Health; Dr. and Mrs. Harald Nyström of Asella;

Professor and Mrs. Sven Rubensson, then at the University College of Addis Ababa; Mr. Million Niknik, then director general in the Ministry of Education and Fine Arts; Mrs. Mary Tadesse, then director in the Ministry of Education and Fine Arts; Mr. Dinsa Lepissa A.J., B.A., Mr. Bayissa Lemmu M.A., and Mr Ragassa Beña, all of the University College of Addis Ababa; Dr. and Mrs. Yngve Hofvander, then vice-director of the Ethio-Swedish Pediatric Clinic, Addis Ababa; Mr. and Mrs. Svante Polstrand, Addis Ababa; Mr. and Mrs. Tomas Kjeldberg, then adviser to the Ministry of Education and Fine Arts; the Rev. and Mrs. Robert Murray and Dr. and Mrs. Dennis Carlsson at the American Baptist Mission in Ambo; Abba and Hađa Bunguli of Toke in whose compound I was permitted to camp most of the time during my first period in the field; Abba and Hađa Dama of Toke and Sullo; *Ato* and *Woizero* Marga Čali of Toke, *Kenasmač* and *Woizero* Gudisa of Gudela, *Ato* Akuma Jiru of Inčinni; Dr. and Mrs. William Schack, then professor of anthropology at the University College.

Last but not least I wish to express my sincere thanks to Mr. Makonnen Mosisa, who as a field assistant lived and worked with me during the major part of my field work, and also to Mr. Hailu Kitesa, who aided me during my last field trips.

My thanks are also due to Mrs. Eva Rhenstedt who has given me valuable assistance in the technical preparation of my manuscript; to Mr. Erik Malmberg who has drawn the maps and diagrams; to Mrs. Valerie Jenkins-Hedén B.A., who has translated part of the Swedish manuscript; and to Mrs. Alice Backlund B.A., who has done the major part of the translating and has helped me in reading the proofs.

Finally I should like to thank my wife Margareta Knutsson F.M. for a rare kind of support and teamwork as well as for her criticism of the different versions of the manuscript.

NOTE ON ORTHOGRAPHY

The transcription of Galla has never been standardized. I have chosen to follow the same general method as Cerulli, Moreno, and Haberland with the exception of *ǰ* which I have changed to *j*, (English journal). The pronunciation of vowels corresponds roughly with Italian. For the consonants the following guide can be given:

- č alveopalatal *ch* as in English church
- ć glottalized č
- ḍ *d* with a retroflex voiced stop
- ḱ glottalized *k*
- ñ palatalized *n* as in Spanish señor
- š alveopalatal *s* as in English she
- ṭ glottalized *t*
- w* semivowel *w* as in English well
- y* semivowel *y* as in English yes
- z* voiced *s*

For the sake of convenience I have chosen to indicate accents of Galla words only when larger portions of text are given. Some often repeated words are written without any phonetical transcription. Such words are Macha (for *Mačča*), kallu (for *ḱallu*), waka (for *waḱa*), ayana (for *ayana*), lafa (for *lafa*), and gada (for *gada*). If combined with other Galla words, they are, however, always transcribed. Personal and geographical names as well as names of tribes and clans are as a rule not transcribed. Names of 'personalized' superhuman powers are written in spaced out type. Waka (heaven) and lafa (earth) are written in minuscules unless they appear personalized in a mythical context, when they are written Waka and Lafa. A plural *s* is sometimes added to Galla words in order not to create unnecessary misunderstandings.

INTRODUCTION

I. THE PROBLEM

Social anthropologists have been concerned chiefly with research on social and cultural systems. This orientation has given them a very comprehensive sphere of interest extending over large sections of the social sciences. Consequently, the studies usually included under the heading field monographs often vary greatly in plan and form according to the problems treated. In studies of this type it is especially important, of course, to define the basic problems from the beginning. This is complicated, however, by the fact that an anthropological field study usually deals simultaneously with different sets of questions.

The purpose of this book is thus twofold: first, to contribute to Ethiopian studies, in particular Galla ethnography; secondly, to add to a more general sociological discussion of the organization of authority in a society which is non-literate and institutionally little specialized. It is necessary, therefore, to indicate at once its place in these two contexts.

The ethnographical literature on the Galla is large in quantity, but uneven in quality. The bulk of it consists of old travel and mission reports. Studies made by professional anthropologists are rare and field studies even more so. In the latter category, in fact, only Haberland's work on the southern Galla¹ and Lewis's recently published study of the Jimma Abba Jifar² are worthy of the title. Of Cerulli's two most valuable publications on the central and western Galla one is a collection of texts.³ The other falls rather under the heading of travel literature, although certain parts describing short stays among various Galla groups may be classified as anthropological field reports.⁴

In the case of the Tulama and Macha Galla the older sources⁵ provide

¹ Haberland 1963.

² Lewis 1965.

³ Cerulli 1922.

⁴ Cerulli 1930, 1933.

⁵ To the most important of these belong: Beke 1843 and 1848, Isenberg and Krapf 1843, Tutschek 1845, Krapf 1860, Plowden 1868, d'Abbadie 1880, Cecchi 1885/1887, Soleillet 1886, Massaia 1885-1895, Borelli 1890, de Salviac 1901, Guidi 1907, Azais 1926, Azais and Chambard 1931.

us with a mass of valuable material which illuminates some aspects of their social and cultural life, but it is not possible to form a complete picture of conditions at the time when these accounts were written. With the exception of Lewis's book and Haberland's notes, ethnographical information on the Tulama and Macha is dominated by an interest in the gada system. This interest, while valuable in itself, has led to a tendency in Galla ethnography which I call 'gada idealization'. It characterizes many of the older sources as well as several studies published during recent years, such as Huntingford's survey of Galla literature⁶ and the more general summaries included in Perham's⁷ and Trimingham's⁸ books. Both Haberland⁹ in his notices on the Tulama and the Macha and Lewis¹⁰ point out the inaccuracy of this picture as regards the situation among the central and western Galla during the last century. My investigation of the kallu institution, its social background, and its development supports Haberland and Lewis on this point and enables us to re-evaluate the position of the gada system in the present organizational pattern and to better understand its role in the development of the latter. My first object has not been to correct previous information, however, but rather to increase knowledge by presenting new material on the formerly unknown kallu institution in the Macha region.

As a contribution to social anthropology, this book is an attempt to examine a system of authority organization in a non-literate society and some of the changes that it has undergone. This is not as easy to describe briefly in general terms as my descriptive ethnographical aim, but by delimiting some basic problems, I hope to be able to circumscribe and define my intention more precisely.

II. PROBLEMS OF EXPLANATION

The conflict between the older historical or evolutionary anthropology and the more recent functional-structural method can be explained as resulting from differences in the amount of analytical interest in the two dimensions of social life: the temporal and the spatial. Thus, the two 'schools' came to stress analyses of either diachronic or synchronic rela-

⁶ Huntingford 1955.

⁷ Perham 1948.

⁸ Trimingham 1952.

⁹ Haberland 1963, p. 536.

¹⁰ Lewis 1965, p. 32 f, 130 f.

tionships. In its turn this specialization led to fundamentally different explanations of social and cultural phenomena. Where interest in the time dimension has predominated, there has been a marked tendency toward 'causal' explanation; a desire to explain phenomena as the results of earlier situations. Such a procedure is obviously one-sided. Probably, however, the uncritical and casual comparative method characteristic of these early attempts to elucidate 'causal' relationships was more instrumental than their analytical one-sidedness in producing a strong reaction. In opposition to their evolutionist teachers and colleagues, Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown demanded emphatically, though from different premises, that a society be studied first and foremost as a spatial system, and that phenomena be explained by establishing their functional relationships through a synchronic analysis.

This orientation, followed in social anthropology chiefly by Radcliffe-Brown's pupils, has produced valuable and lasting results. At the same time, however, it has created a bias that has produced less desirable consequences. The criticism that the functionalist-structuralist school rightly directed at the older anthropology for its uncritical reconstructions of logical and historical development series at the same time affected adversely the necessary and legitimate interest in society as a process in time. This, in its turn, has retarded theoretical interest in diachronic analysis. As a result, social anthropology today has a rich growth of theory concerning social structure, whereas research in social processes is characterized by theoretical poverty and a dearth of analytical instruments. This disparity has tended to strengthen and retain the one-sidedness of the functional-structural revolution.

The difficulties which arise when we seek to study a society as both a spatial system and a temporal process cannot, however, be blamed entirely on the bias of one scientific school. They originate largely in the character of our analytical instruments—the scientific concepts. Leach, who was one of the first among social anthropologists to react against structuralism's one-sided interest in social systems "in stable equilibrium,"¹¹ has summarized his view of the logical difficulties of describing a change.

"The social anthropologist in establishing his academic theories of social structure endeavours to employ a terminology which is completely unambiguous. He therefore adopts the normal scientific procedure of inventing a language of special terms which have no meaning at all other than that with which the scientist endows them. Such expressions as *exogamy*, *patriline-*

¹¹ Leach 1954, p. 4.

age, status, role etc., which are used by the anthropologists to describe a system of structural relationships mean just what the anthropologist says they mean, neither more nor less. Consequently structural systems as described by anthropologists are always static systems."¹²

Leach has here given a lucid formulation of one of the logical dilemmas of the classificatory approach to anthropological description and analysis. The anthropologist can state that a society is patrilineal or segmentary or of some other kind, but the actual situation will not entirely correspond to his concepts because it is always shifting and changing.

In his "Political Systems of Highland Burma" Leach has tried to find a way out of this dilemma. I take his views in this book as a starting point for a brief review of some attempts to solve the explanatory problems which arise for every student of "society as a process in time." Such a review will also provide the background for my own attempt, limited as it is, to study problems related to structure and change simultaneously.

Leach's hypothesis in his Kachin book can be summarized in the following way. A social system, in this case a political one, is always changing. But this change, Leach insists, is impossible to apprehend through the use of traditional anthropological concepts. It can only be inferred as the difference between two consecutive structures which can be defined and which, therefore, are static systems. In his book he has tried to isolate two ideals or structures which are more or less co-existent and between which the changing principle or principles operate.

"... in terms of political organization Kachin communities oscillate between two polar types—gumlao 'democracy' on the one hand, Shan autocracy on the other."¹³

This method of laying bare two opposing structures and describing change as a result of oscillation between the two poles certainly represents a possible approach to the description of at least some kinds of change. But it is still clearly within the structural-functional tradition of thought with which it shares one important characteristic. It does not make it possible to explain change as the result of some operating principles.

To this main shortcoming can be added another. Leach himself differentiates between two main types of change. One he defines as changes "which are consistent with a continuity of the existing formal order."

¹² Leach op. cit. p. 103.

¹³ Leach op. cit. p. 9. How the anthropologist's models of these structures are related to the social reality represents another important logical problem, which I shall not discuss here. (cf. Gellner 1958, p. 191.)

The other is said to represent "change in the formal social structure."¹⁴ It is the latter which according to Leach deserves the name social change. He also argues that the oscillation type belongs to this form. But at the same time he is of the opinion that those Kachin communities in which the oscillation occurs are not to be regarded as independent political systems. "They should clearly be thought of as part of a larger system in flux."¹⁵ Given these two arguments one has obviously the right to ask if a change that consists of oscillation between two structural poles co-existing within a larger system really represents a genuine process of change in the formal social structure. It seems that many if not most societies offer structural alternatives that can cause oscillation in the system.

From Leach's description one receives the impression that the oscillation actually contributes to the continuity of the structural alternatives which together are at the base of the larger system. And if this is the case, it seems obvious that the change should be regarded as "part of the process of continuity."¹⁶ The conclusion of this reasoning would be that Leach has described an 'equilibrium system' although of a special kind.

In his later book on Sinhalese land tenure¹⁷ which theoretically is mainly a study of principles of structural continuity, he no longer defines structure as in some way corresponding to the ideal of the society in the minds of its members.

"The social structure which I talk about in this book is, in principle, a statistical notion; it is a social fact in the same sense as a suicide rate is a social fact. It is a by-product of the sum of many individual human actions, of which the participants are neither wholly conscious nor wholly unaware. It is normal rather than normative."¹⁸

As he himself points out, this view is less in the structuralist's tradition and more related to Malinowski's opinion that every custom serves a utilitarian purpose and to Durkheim's assumption in "Suicide" that social norms are statistical averages. With this view I both agree and disagree. It is evident that social structure can be analytically interpreted as the statistical average of individual choices. At the same time, however, it is

¹⁴ Leach 1954, p. 5. I shall in the following use the term 'social change' in this latter sense.

¹⁵ Leach op. cit. p. 6.

¹⁶ Gluckman has argued before more or less the same points (1965, p. 282).

¹⁷ Leach 1961. a.

¹⁸ Leach op. cit. p. 300.

equally clear that to the members of a society such 'averages' constitute social regularities or forms which are of an obligatory character and are thus normative, whether they serve as motives for or restrictions on individual or collective action. It seems to me that Firth, who has transmitted much of the pragmatic interest of Malinowski into modern social anthropology, has recognized that both these interpretations are legitimate and necessary for empirical social anthropology. He suggests that to the concept of structure should be added the concept of organization.

"In the aspect of social structure is to be found the continuity principle of society; in the aspect of organization is to be found the variation or change principle—by allowing evaluation of situations and entry of individual choice."¹⁹

Firth's view represents a wish, as does that of Leach in his study of Pul Eliya, not only to describe social forms but also to explain them. A recent work of Fredrik Barth²⁰ in which he tries to develop what he terms a generative analysis in social anthropology is similarly motivated. Basic to his approach are the same questions with which Leach and Firth among others have been wrestling. How shall models of social form and social change be constructed and how shall social forms and social change be explained?²¹

Barth argues that the structuralist approach to an understanding of social forms is inadequate. As Leach had already pointed out, it lays emphasis on the classification of forms. But, writes Barth,

"Explanation is not achieved by a description of the patterns of regularity, no matter how meticulous and adequate, nor by replacing this description by other abstractions congruent with it, but by exhibiting what *makes* the pattern, i.e. certain processes. To study social forms, it is certainly necessary but hardly sufficient to be able to describe them. To give an explanation of social forms, it is sufficient to describe the processes that generate the form."²²

Instead of spending his time on the construction of typologies and classification of social forms the anthropologist should try to create models through which the processes that generate the forms (and structures) can be explained.

It would take me too far from my thesis to enter into a discussion of Barth's generative analysis at this point. There are certainly differences

¹⁹ Firth 1951, p. 40; cf. also Firth 1964, p. 45.

²⁰ Barth 1966.

²¹ Barth op. cit. p. v.

²² Barth op. cit. p. 2.

between his approach to the problem of 'structure and change' and the one employed in this book. Compared to Barth's attempts to construct models which can make simulation and thereby explanation and prediction of social form possible, my aim is more limited. But there are also important similarities. Thus it is my wish not only to study the Macha society as a system of social forms, but also to try to describe and analyze one dominant process that has contributed to create the institution²³ on which this book is focused.

Working from this idea I have endeavoured to circumscribe a social field within which a combined approach could be made to the study of synchronic and diachronic systems. In consequence of this view I have used two basic criteria. According to the first the field chosen should be of central importance for an understanding of the continuity of at least some social forms. According to the second one should be able, using the same empirical material, to identify factors contributing to the variation of these forms. The application of these criteria has led me to choose as the starting point for my study of the Macha society its organization of authority, and, in particular, its organization of 'final authority'.²⁴

In the following pages I shall try to motivate this choice. However, before I take up the more special problems of definition I should like to indicate briefly in what ways an organization of final authority meets my requirements.

An authority organization is not only a system by means of which a society 'administers' itself. It also contains the various bodies which enable the society to make decisions about its own organization. In situations involving conflicts within the society or crises caused by contacts

²³ Because this book mainly deals with certain social institutions to which the highest authority of society is allocated, I want to indicate briefly my usage of the term institution. As there does not exist any general agreement on its meaning among social scientists, a detailed discussion would require too much space in this context and is therefore unfortunately impossible.

In its widest sense I take it to mean norms and knowledge accumulated by a group of people for the recurrent solution of anticipated problems. An institution may be kept in 'reserve' for some expected situation or it may be functioning continuously (cf. the vendetta and the family). Irrespective of this difference an institution in function consists of a group or groups of people who share a system of basic goals, norms, knowledge, instruments, roles and symbols and who have a common system of decision-making. In this sense the meaning of the term is close to that of organization.

²⁴ A related approach has been advocated by F. C. Miller 1965, p. 53.

with other peoples, the society through its authority organization reaches decisions concerning the crises which arise and endeavours to solve them. In certain situations these solutions may lead to changes in the relations between important elements in the structure. In other situations crises cannot be solved within the existing organization of authority. This will sooner or later lead to the disintegration of that organization and the emergence of a new form.

To sum up we may say that an authority organization enforces those rules which work towards the continuity of a social system. In this way it constitutes a focus in an existing social structure. At the same time it includes the means by which that structure can be adapted to altered conditions. This is, of course, provided that, because of its inability to make such an adjustment, it is not replaced by a new type of authority organization. This double character makes the organization of authority a field of investigation where we can study society as both a spatial system and a process in time.

III. AUTHORITY: ETYMOLOGY AND DEFINITIONS

Authority belongs to a group of concepts which have become so comprehensive in their meaning that they are difficult to deal with. At the same time their significance has made them indispensable. This creates a great many problems when we wish to use the concept authority in an analytical context. For this reason the general observations above concerning authority and its organization must be expanded.

Such an undertaking, however, is no simple task. We are concerned here with a problem fundamental to all the social sciences. It has been discussed in different fields and on the basis of different material. It has also occasioned tremendous debates in political science, jurisprudence, and sociology, as well as in anthropology. More recently the discussion has been taken up by newer branches of research such as the theories of communication and information and the theories of games and decision.

Because of the great range of this interest in the concept of authority any survey of it tends to cut across scientific boundaries. This, of course, also creates problems. Limited space, for example, makes it impossible, to present all the aspects of the debate concerning the nature of authority. Nor is my representation here of part of this debate in any sense exhaustive. I have only aimed at giving a conceptual background for the discussion in this book.

Authority is derived from the Roman term *auctoritas*. But as Mommsen observes²⁵ it is difficult to give an unambiguous definition of the original meaning of the word. To summarize its shades of meaning in classical Latin I have chosen to quote Friedrich's survey in the article "Authority, Reason and Discretion."

"It has predominantly the sense related to the verb from which it is derived: *augere*, to augment. *Auctoritas* thus supplements a mere act of will by adding reasons to it. Such augmentation and confirmation are the results of deliberations by 'the old ones'. The *patrum auctoritas* is, for that reason, more than advice, yet less than a command. It is, as Mommsen comments, advice which cannot properly be disregarded, such as the expert gives the layman, the leader in Parliament to his followers. This augmentation or implementation and confirmation had in ancient Rome, as did indeed authority elsewhere, religious overtones . . ."²⁶

In later definitions of authority we can distinguish between two fundamental attitudes. The first, which might be called the objective interpretation, stresses the position of authority and the obligatory character of its messages. According to this an act has authority because it issues from a position of authority. To the second attitude, the subjective interpretation, an act becomes authoritative because it is accepted as such. The former approach seems to have predominated earlier, while the latter is more recent and appears to be related to the increase of social scientific interest in authority. As representatives for the objective view Hobbes²⁷ and Rousseau²⁸ can be mentioned. Both see the will of the sovereign as the source of authority and law.

In "An Essay on the Influence of Authority in Matters of Opinion" George Cornwall Lewis gives an early formulation of the subjective interpretation.²⁹

"He who believes upon authority, entertains the opinion simply because it is entertained by a person who appears to him likely to think correctly on the subject."

For Lewis the principle of authority consists in

"adopting the belief of others, on a matter of opinion, without reference to the particular grounds on which that belief may rest."

²⁵ Mommsen 1888, III, p. 1033 f.

²⁶ Friedrich 1958, p. 30.

²⁷ Hobbes 1904, pp. 120 ff.

²⁸ Rousseau 1875, p. 254, 264 f.

²⁹ Lewis 1849, p. 6 f.

This fundamental attitude has come to dominate the views of many later social scientists.³⁰

To a large extent these differences in attitude obviously depend upon the nature of the observer's position. It is natural for the objective interpretation to predominate among those who are themselves members of an authority organization which they endeavour to characterize. The objective attitude, therefore, is generally found in 'folk models'³¹ of authority and is often especially noticeable in conceptions of authority in a juridical system.

On the other hand, the interpretation of authority based on sociological observation and analysis tends to emphasize the subjects' acceptance of authority as the element essential to its origin and continuity. However, and this is an important point, even though the observer in the latter case stands outside the authority organization he is investigating, he may nonetheless be biased by 'folk models' from the society to which he himself belongs. He is often in danger, as Bohannan points out,³² of confusing his own perhaps scientifically systematized 'folk models' with general statements based on comparative research. A short survey of different types of definitions in social anthropology will show that this distinction is not always kept clear.

In these definitions we can trace an influence from those social fields where the experience of authority in western societies is most apparent and specialized; i.e., the fields of justice and government. This influence has contributed to a tendency in anthropological definitions to emphasize such aspects as obligation, coercion, and sanction.

A definition of this type is given by Malinowski in "Freedom and Civilization":

"Political authority as we know it is indispensable even at primitive levels; we have defined it as the legally vested power to establish norms, to take decisions and to enforce them through the use of sanction by coercion."³³

³⁰ Stein 1923, p. 117; Michels 1930, p. 319; Barnard 1938, p. 163; White 1939, p. 44 f; Homans 1951, p. 418; Simon 1957 a, p. 125.

³¹ I use the term 'folk model' in the same sense as the term 'folk systems of explanation' suggested by Bohannan (1957, p. 4; 1963, p. 13.) Lately social anthropologists have shown an increased interest in problems of this kind (Lévi-Strauss 1953, p. 526 f; Gluckman and Eggan 1965, p. xxxiv; Ward 1965, pp. 113 ff. and 1966, pp. 201 ff.). Elsewhere (Knutson 1966) I have discussed 'models' used by the Macha themselves in 'describing' and 'explaining' their society.

³² Bohannan 1957, p. 4.

³³ Malinowski 1944, p. 248.

A similar sanction dominated view of the character and role of authority is reflected in Radcliffe-Brown's conception of the political organization, which he defines as

"the maintenance or establishment of social order, within a territorial framework, by the organized exercise of coercive authority through the use, or the possibility of use, of physical force."³⁴

Hoebel is also one of those who uphold the central place of coercion in a definition of authority:

"He who is generally or specifically recognized as rightly exerting the element of physical coercion is a splinter of social authority."³⁵

In another connection he repeats that "Authority without sanctions is but an empty name."³⁶ At the same time, however, he points out that sanctions play a very small part in the leader roles to be found, for example, among the Eskimos.

In her study of authority patterns in West Africa Paula Brown concentrates upon the 'legalistic' aspects of authority, particularly stressing the role of sanctions. She states that:

"Ability to obtain obedience rests upon the sanctions, direct or indirect, which the authority holder can apply to his subordinates."³⁷

A similar opinion is expressed by Firth who writes:

"By authority is meant here the ability to exercise power through the application of sanctions."³⁸

Besides these there are definitions of a more general kind, formulated by anthropologists who have considered it sufficient to point out the legitimate character of authority in comparison to other forms of power. To this group belong Bohannan who simply states that authority is institutionalized power³⁹ and Nadel who argues that "'authority' is always 'expected' and '*de jure*.'"⁴⁰

That definitions of authority in social anthropology have remained either one-sided or general and vague can to some extent be explained

³⁴ Radcliffe-Brown 1940, p. xiv.

³⁵ Hoebel 1954, p. 27.

³⁶ Hoebel 1958, p. 224.

³⁷ Brown 1951, p. 262.

³⁸ Firth 1964, p. 123.

³⁹ Bohannan 1958, p. 3.

⁴⁰ Nadel 1951, p. 169.

by the fact that the societies studied have lacked the institutional specialization and formalization which might have facilitated more detailed analyses of authority organizations. But I do not think this is the complete explanation. Part of it I believe is to be found in the failure of social anthropologists to make use of the work that has been done on formal organizations in Europe and America.

It is true, as I have already indicated, that there are great and important differences between the fields with which the social anthropologist and the student of formal organizations are working. At the same time it is evident that if anthropology wishes to refine its concept it should not hesitate to make use of the results gained where conditions for observing and recording have been optimal.

A leading representative for the research on administration and formal organization is Chester Barnard who formulates his view of authority as follows in his book, "The function of the executive":

"Authority is the character of communication (order) in a formal organization by virtue of which it is accepted by a contributor to or 'member' of the organization as governing the action he contributes; that is, as governing or determining what he does or is not to do so far as the organization is concerned."⁴¹

If one accepts such a definition as Barnard's, one cannot but ask if it would not be more logical to avoid the term authority entirely and to choose rather a terminology better reflecting the perception that in the end it is the subordinates who 'create' and determine the content of authority. Instead one might, as Etzioni does in his book, "A Comparative Analysis of Complex Organizations,"⁴² choose to investigate the form of compliance within an organization—that is the combination of the organization's 'power' and the members' 'involvement'. Though there is much to be said for such an approach, I have had to refrain from trying it myself. There are a number of reasons for this. Primarily, the way in which an anthropologist has to collect his material during the limited time of a field study makes it exceedingly difficult to investigate satisfactorily the attitudes and actions that together comprise the involvement of the subordinates. What has been possible for me in view of these limitations has been to attempt to give a picture of patterns in the communication of authority.

⁴¹ Barnard 1938, p. 163.

⁴² Etzioni 1961, p. xv.

IV. AUTHORITY AND INFLUENCE

It is obvious that in any attempt to define however summarily the concept authority we must distinguish it from other concepts which also describe relations of influence. Such a distinction is not easily made. Like many other social phenomena various forms of influence are merely aspects of a continuum.

In such a situation a differentiation must be based on analytical criteria which throw into relief certain conceptual extremes. In order to distinguish authority from other kinds of influence, we must introduce two such criteria. As the first I suggest the 'criterion of intention'⁴³ and as the second "the criterion of reason".⁴⁴

In the cases where a group or person A influences another B without intending to do so, we can, as Easton points out, properly speak of mere influence. Where A intends to influence B and succeeds in so doing, we can speak of power.⁴⁵ If we apply the same criterion of intention to the subordinate, we can, according to Easton, distinguish between "'manipulation', when B is not aware of A's intention to influence but A does, in fact, manage to get B to follow his wishes"; and "persuasion" when A through argument seeks to persuade B to follow his wishes.⁴⁶

Easton seeks to distinguish the two latter types of influence from the type of authoritative power that exists when A "sends a message to B and B adopts this message as the basis of his own behaviour without evaluating it in terms of his own standards of what is desirable under the circumstances."⁴⁷

Here, however, in my opinion, Easton's definition of authoritative influence is too incomplete. It is true that some part, perhaps a large part, of authoritative communication is accepted in this unreflecting way. Communication falls into what Barnard calls "the zone of indifference"⁴⁸ and Simon "the area of acceptance."⁴⁹ But for it to be accepted in this automatic way it is essential, as Friedrich maintains, that "such communication, whether opinions or commands ... possess the potentiality of reasoned elaboration—they are worthy of acceptance."⁵⁰

⁴³ cf. Easton 1958, pp. 178 ff.

⁴⁴ cf. Friedrich 1958, p. 35.

⁴⁵ I neither can nor wish to engage here in a detailed discussion of the concept power.

⁴⁶ Easton 1958, p. 179.

⁴⁷ Easton 1958, op. cit. loc. cit.

⁴⁸ Barnard 1938, p. 168.

⁴⁹ Simon 1957 a, p. 133.

⁵⁰ Friedrich 1958, p. 35.

It would also seem difficult to draw a sharp line, as Easton attempts, between persuasion and authority. The subordinate in an authority organization is, so to speak, already convinced—the authoritative message that falls within the area of acceptance is accepted because it seems in principle to be supported by good arguments. This ‘potentiality of reasoned elaboration’ which characterizes the authoritative message has important consequences for any discussion of authority. First, it is essential to know and understand the rational premises on the basis of which the messages appear reasonable and worthy of acceptance. Thus, if we are to discuss an organization of final authority, as I am seeking to do in this book, we must investigate the premises inherent in the members’ conception of their society and its environment; i.e., the total world view which that society has produced.

Secondly, by applying the criterion of reason, we should be able to distinguish authoritative influence from power in the form of force and coercion. These types of influence, of course, are to some extent connected with authority and allow it through the use of negative sanctions to correct certain deviations of behaviour which from the point of view of the organization are particularly disastrous. If, however, frequent resort to such sanctions becomes necessary, it is evident that the authoritative information is falling to an increasing degree outside ‘the area of acceptance’, thus revealing its lack of ‘the potentiality of reasoned elaboration’. Negative sanctions in the form of force and coercion will, therefore, constitute symptoms indicating that the authoritative position does not have what from the sociological point of view is indispensable to any authority, the support of its subordinates. The application of such sanctions to any greater extent will negatively affect the flow of information from the subordinate to the superior, thereby reducing the operability of the organization and making it still more difficult to achieve a necessary adaptation to the actual situation.

On the basis of this reasoning, force and coercion appear opposed in principle to the type of institutionalized and ‘expected power’ which authoritative influence represents. They exist in an organization of authority as instruments for achieving a desirable measure of conformity. They have, however, a limited field of application and their use as dominant instruments for creating conformity leads inevitably to the collapse of the organization.

V. FINAL AUTHORITY

In every complex organization there is a hierarchy of positions of authority which serve to transmit authoritative information from the head of the organization to its members. They also transmit information from the organization's different parts to its decision centre, without which the latter in the long run would be unable to function as authority. Portions of the authority within the organization may be delegated to lower levels. This delegation may imply the right to make independent decisions within a limited field of competence or only the right to relay authoritative communication. Regardless of type and internal structure, every organization must include or have access to some form of final authority. Its main task consists in providing final solutions for the many problems that can arise within an organization and that cannot be solved in any other way; e.g., "disputed decisions" made at lower levels.⁵¹ Among the most important of the problems referred to the final authority are those concerning relations between the various parts of the organization or relations between the organization as a whole and its environment.

The highest authority in an organization is not necessarily a final authority. Problems that cannot be solved in an organization can also be transferred for a final solution to some body in a more comprehensive system, within which the organization in question is a subsystem. Moreover, the range of a final authority can vary according to the nature of the problem to be solved. As a rule, an independent state, or some other form of autonomous group, constitutes the largest system with a common final authority. But there are important exceptions; religious-ritual problems in a society belonging to a supranational church and disagreements between states all of which recognize international law courts can thus be dealt with by a final authority outside the state. Furthermore, many societies, especially tribal societies, can be autonomous in cultural and social respects but politically belong to larger systems.

Depending on the institutional specialization of a society, a final authority may be divided up. In the Swedish society with its strict separation of the executive, legislative and judicial power there are three 'final authorities': the Government, the Parliament and the Supreme Court.

In institutionally less specialized traditional societies conditions are frequently otherwise. Here, as Hoebel points out, the central authority

⁵¹ Simon 1957 a, p. 57.

is often "multiphasal" in character.⁵² The same opinion has been expressed admirably by Radcliffe-Brown:

"In Africa it is often hardly possible to separate, even in thought, political office from ritual office or religious office. Thus in some African societies it may be said that the king is the executive head, the legislator, the supreme judge, the commander-in-chief of the army, the chief priest or supreme ritual head, and even perhaps the principal capitalist of the whole community. But it is erroneous to think of him as combining in himself a number of separate and distinct offices. There is a single office, that of the king, and its various duties and activities, and its rights, prerogatives and privileges make up a single unified whole."⁵³

Because of its special role in critical situations final authority differs notably from authority on other levels. As long as an organization is not subjected to severe risks of dysfunction the application of coercive sanctions is not needed to secure an acceptable degree of co-ordination. Agreement as to the nature and purpose of the organization on the part of both superior and subordinate members creates an area of acceptance sufficiently wide to enable it to function without coercion. The questions that are referred to the final authority, however, are those which it has not been possible to solve within the existing area of acceptance, or those for which there are no customary solutions because they have arisen from a new situation. For settling these types of problem there are two ways open to the final authority. The first consists in using coercive sanctions to compel the co-ordination in the organization that could not be achieved within the area of acceptance or by applying regular positive and negative sanctions available at lower levels. Traditional societies without effective law-enforcing instruments such as police often lack this possibility.

The second possibility consists in changing the organization so that the problems of co-ordination are eliminated. If the organization cannot solve problems in one of these two ways or through a combination of them, only a third and last possibility remains: the dissolution of the authority structure and its replacement with a new.

The principal part of the discussion concerning social change in this book is based on a course of events of the last type: a shift from one system of final authority to another.

⁵² Hoebel 1958, p. 233.

⁵³ Radcliffe-Brown 1940, p. xxi.

VI. THE PLAN OF THE BOOK

The problem which I have tried to circumscribe above has quite naturally determined the general plan of this book. Thus the first part, chapters II and III, provides some information on the Galla groups of Ethiopia and a background survey of the Macha society today. The material in this section also includes an account of the main features of the Macha world view, against which the central subject of this study, the kallu institution, must be seen and understood.

The second part, chapters IV, V and VI, contains a description of the kallu institution both in its ritual and extra-ritual aspects. I also discuss briefly the kallu's office in other Galla regions and its relation to some other ritual roles in Macha.

In a third section, chapter VII, I attempt to describe the types of authority organizations preceding the present one, particularly the class organizations of the gada-type. Thereafter in a concluding chapter I shall endeavour to bring together some of the threads from the previous sections into more general conclusions concerning the character of the kallu institution and the nature of the change process that has led to its emergence.

In planning the presentation of an anthropological field study one is faced with the difficult problem of deciding how to combine its two aspects, the descriptive and the analytical. In contemporary social anthropology it has become customary to weave analysis and theoretical viewpoints into the presentation of the ethnographical facts. Such a technique is justified, since a description is in itself the result of choices based on certain theoretical assumptions. It has, nevertheless many practical disadvantages. The most serious to my mind is that, where analysis is completely integrated with description, it is difficult, if not impossible, to use the ethnographical material for other purposes than those which interest the author. To avoid such consequences I have, with some few exceptions, tried to draw a sharper dividing line than is customary in social anthropology between the descriptive and analytical parts of my study.

II

OUTLINE OF THE MACHA SOCIETY

I. THE GALLA OF ETHIOPIA: SOME GENERAL NOTES

A census including the whole country has so far never been made in Ethiopia. Existing population figures are based chiefly on estimates by regional officials and must be considered uncertain. The official figure for 1964 is 23 million. It is difficult to ascertain the proportion of the Galla in the total population. Among the present 14 provinces of Ethiopia they predominate in the following seven: Ilu Babor, Wollega, Shoa, Hararge, Kaffa, Arussi and Bali. In Sidamo and Wollo they constitute, if not the majority, at least a significant minority. In Tigre and Gamu-Gofa there are smaller groups. On these grounds an estimation of the size of the Galla group as amounting to half or somewhat more than half of Ethiopia's population seems justified.

The Galla are divided into several large regional groups which partly coincide with province divisions. Originally these groups were composed of tribes or confederations of tribes.

All Galla call themselves and their people by the name Oromo. In large areas they consider the word Galla to have pejorative connotations and, therefore, prefer the other name.

The main part of Gallaland today lies inside Ethiopia with the exception of some Galla groups in Northern Kenya. The Borana Galla live in the southernmost part of Ethiopia and some way into Kenya. On the dry savannah they subsist on a pastoral economy which combines mobility with a certain degree of permanent settlement. Their social life is dominated by two types of organization. One has given rise to a moiety-clan-lineage-structure and the other to a complicated class system, the famous gada, and, loosely associated with this, an age-grade system.

To the north-west of the Borana live the Guji or Jamjam, as they are also called. Unlike the Borana the Guji are not a single tribe but a confederation of four tribes, the Alabdu, Uruga, Mati and Hoku. Their country is the lowland on the eastern shore of Lake Marguerita and the highland areas to the east of it, which in their most southern and eastern

THE GALLA OF ETHIOPIA

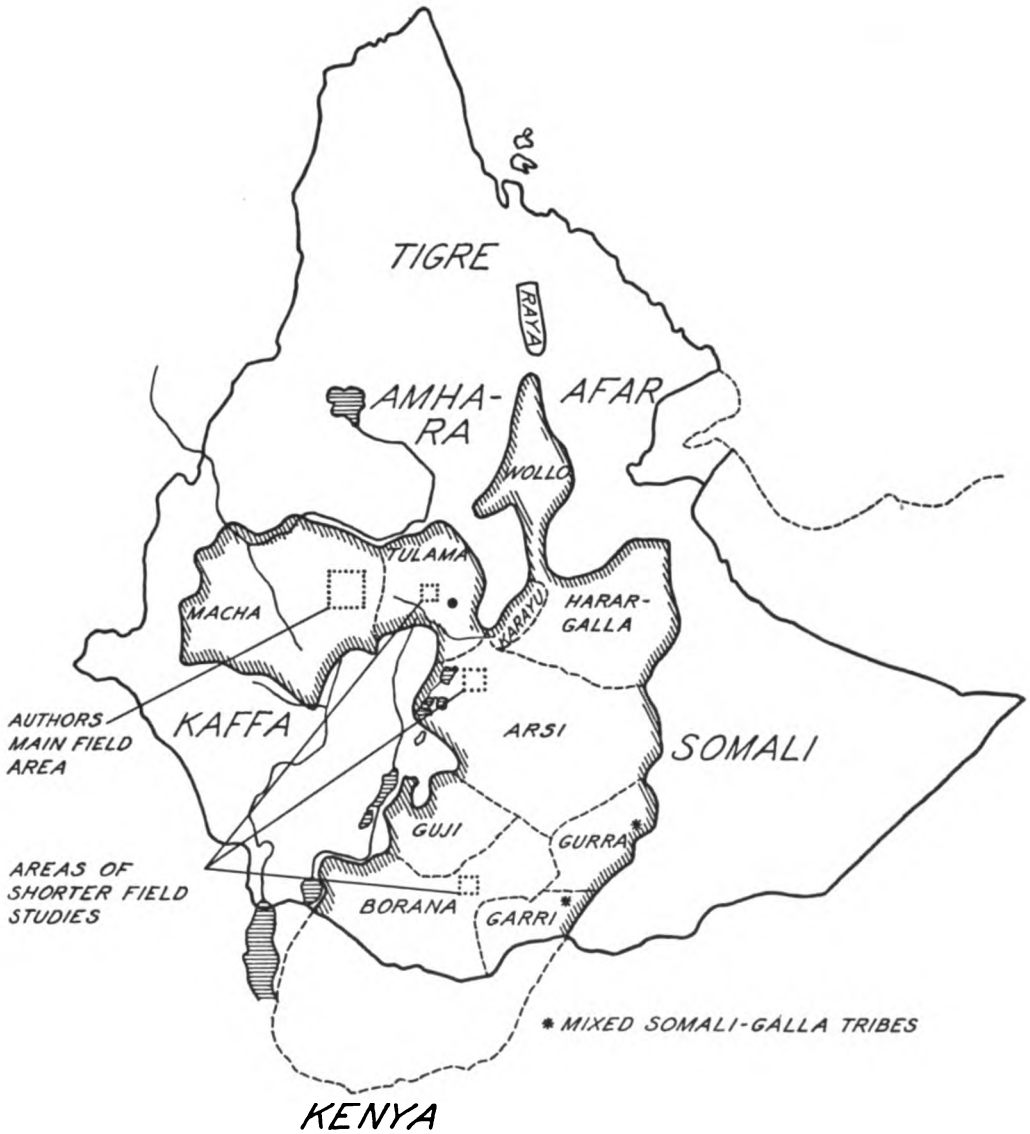


Fig. 1

parts give way to the Borana savannah. Differences in altitude, especially among the western Guji, have contributed to the creation of a trans-humance pattern in their cattle economy. In the highland regions, where an agricultural economy predominates, barley and *ensete edulis* are cultivated. Social organization is characterized by clan and moiety systems. The gada-system is still functioning but seems not to be as important as among the Borana.¹

With the Borana on their south-eastern border and separated by the Sidamo from the Guji in the south-west, the Arsi Galla inhabit a huge area from the bottom of the Rift Valley around the northern lakes into the former Bali kingdom. On the lowlands they are still chiefly cattle herdsman, although they have taken up the cultivation of maize and sorghum. In the highlands, through the influence of immigrant Amhara and Shoa Galla, they have become farmers. Traditionally one tribe, the Arsi have undergone a rapid differentiation caused by a number of co-operating factors. The most important of these have been Islamization particularly in the east, the partition of Arsi into different administrative units, extensive 'colonization' by northern and central Ethiopians, and during recent generations the decline of the gada system.

An eastern group of agricultural Galla, today usually included under the name Harar-Galla, previously constituted two larger confederations. One was made up of the so-called Afran Kallu—the four Kallus. This term which goes back to pre-Islamic conditions is now no longer used by the Galla, who during the last two generations have been completely Islamized. Instead they call themselves Kottu, the farmers. The other tribal group here was the Barentu confederation. Among all the Harar-Galla, as among the Arsi, the shift in religion and the incorporation into the Ethiopian Empire have produced extensive changes.

Very little is known ethnographically about the tribes which have penetrated into the Wollo and Tigre provinces. The Islamized, agricultural Wollo-Galla occupy the lowlands to the east of the central Ethiopian highland. The Raya or Azebo—Galla living on the savannahs north of the Wollo along the fault of the Rift—are still herdsman. They were finally pacified as late as around 1950.

The largest part of Shoa province,² except for its north-eastern corner

¹ Haberland 1963, p. 308 f., pp. 380 ff.

² Shoa Province as mentioned here does not include the parts of the former Arussi Province in the Rift Valley from Shaahamane in the south that were incorporated into Shoa in the beginning of the 1960's.

and the south-western region, is populated by Galla belonging to the Tulama group of tribes. On the extensive and fertile Shoa plateau they live by agriculture and animal husbandry of a traditional central Ethiopian type. They have long been powerfully influenced by the Amhara. In many places, particularly in the numerous market villages, this influence has been so far-reaching that we may, as Haberland suggests,³ call them Galla-speaking Amhara. In the country, however, they retain many of their distinctive cultural and social traits. In certain respects traditional organizational forms have been preserved more faithfully here than among, for example, the Macha. Thus important parts of the gada system still remain, although they are adhered to by a constantly narrowing circle of people.

In western Shoa, northern Kaffa, and spread out over the principal parts of Wollega and Ilu Babor provinces live the Macha tribes, subsisting on a mixed agriculture and cattle economy. Today this is undoubtedly one of the most, if not the most, differentiated and fragmented of Ethiopia's large Galla groupings.

The most clearly defined group is composed of the former Galla monarchies, the Gibe States, around the Gibe River in the present Kaffa Province. The tribes of these five states, Jimma, Limmu-Enarya, Guma, Gomma, and Gera, early underwent changes in two important respects. They all developed monarchical political systems, and all gradually converted to Islam.

In the present Wollega province there are two main tribal groups. One consists of the Leka tribes which inhabit Wollega west of the Gibe River and east of Didessa. In contrast to the Gibe States and the tribes east and west of Leka, their incorporation into the Ethiopian Empire was on the whole accomplished peacefully. Since the native ruler—a monarchical political system had developed—and many of his subjects had been converted to the Orthodox Church before the incorporation, the Amharic-Ethiopian culture has been far more influential here than in other Macha regions.

Wollega west of the Didessa River is inhabited by the Sibü Galla. The deep and often impassible Didessa valley and the existence of peripheral non-Galla people in the border regions towards the Sudan have kept the tribal area of Sibü in relative cultural isolation. Probably the most important form of influence here has been exerted by the active Evangelical Mission

³ Haberland 1963, p. 8.

run since the early 1900's by Scandinavians and Germans. The expansion of a coffee-based cash crop economy has been a decisive agent of change during the last generation.

The fourth important group among the Macha consists of the inhabitants of north-eastern Wollega and western Shoa between approximately the Guder River and the Gibe River. At the time of its incorporation into the Ethiopian Empire this area had not developed any political unity of the type to be found in the Gibe States and to some extent among the Leka. The occurrence of loose and shortlived alliances between more or less autonomous clans and subtribes does not alter this general picture. The main part of the field work for this study was carried out in this region, which I from now on shall call eastern Macha.

II. ECOLOGY

In eastern Macha the many tributaries of the Blue Nile and of the Gibe River have cut deeply into the central Ethiopian plateau. To the traveller who approaches the region from Shoa the landscape looks mountainous and fissured. Differences in altitude are great and cause variations in temperature and rainfall, which in their turn have brought about a system of vegetation and cultivation zones.

These zones correspond in climate and vegetation to the three Central Ethiopian altitude categories: *dega* 2500–3000 m; *woyna dega*, 1800–2500 m; and *ḵolla*, 1200–1800 m.⁴ The upper zone has a temperate climate with an average monthly temperature of 10–16° C. The intermediate zone has an almost subtropical climate with corresponding temperatures of 16–20° C. Only the lowest altitude zone where the average monthly temperature is approximately 20° C or over can be called tropical.

Between the zones there are also important differences in precipitation and types of soil. On the *dega* rain falls almost continuously from March to October. Heavy dew during the cool nights also contributes to the rather high humidity at this level. The predominating soils are brown and meagre. At the highest altitudes especially they are shallow and poor in humus with elements of peat.

The intermediate zone has less rainfall. In eastern Macha it rains regularly at this altitude from June to October, and sporadically during December

⁴ The Macha who have adopted the Central Ethiopian method of cultivation have also adopted these altitude categories. Their native terms are less specialized and distinguish only between highlands, *badda*, and lowlands, *gamoji*.

and March–April. Because of greater evaporation the dry season here is much more pronounced than on the *dega* where vegetation does not wither entirely during this period. On the *woyna dega* level one finds red and black soils. In basin areas and wherever topography prevents erosion, soils tend to be black, deep, and rich in humus.

The lowest altitude suffers from a water shortage that limits the length of the agricultural season. Because of the often small distances between the different levels, altitude zones and rainfall zones do not always coincide. Thus one frequently finds great discrepancies in rainfall and vegetation between the same altitude zones depending on their location in relation to valleys and mountains.

III. SETTLEMENT

The type of settlement in Macha is mainly one of scattered homesteads. A typical homestead consists of one or more living-houses, *manna*, surrounded by a fence of thorny acacia, or on the highlands of bamboo. Inside the enclosure and often close to the house lies the cattle kraal, *dalla*. Near the houses there are, as a rule, large granaries, *gotara*; these are made in basket work with thatched roofs. Seen from a distance they resemble houses and give the homestead the appearance of a small village.

The size of a homestead depends primarily on the type of family that occupies it. If it is polygynous, each wife has her own house. Grown and married sons sometimes build houses close to their father's, if he has sufficient land to support them. Thus small villages each inhabited by a group of brothers are created. These villages usually do not last for more than one generation and do not give rise to a continuous and expanding village settlement.

Personal relations within the extended family often play an important part in the emergence of these settlements of village type. In some cases a father succeeds in keeping his sons together in spite of meagre resources in land and cattle, while in others the groups of brothers separate in spite of favourable economic conditions. The size of the homestead varies, moreover, according to the owner's economic position and whether or not he uses personal servants or share-croppers to cultivate his land. Personal servants usually occupy houses close to their employer's, while share-croppers may live either near his homestead or on the portion of his land which they farm.

Besides these traditional forms of settlement there are other more recently introduced types to be found along roads or at market-places. These

market villages exhibit more or less the same traits all over Ethiopia. Rows of rectangular houses line a main street or surround the market-place. The houses have a framework of eucalyptus, which is daubed with a mixture of clay and chopped straw. Tin roofs, doors and windows are also characteristic features. Around such a village nucleus, there is often a peripheral settlement of the traditional kind. In contrast to the country settlements in Macha, the market-towns represent a form of polyethnic community, which shows the first signs of urbanization.

According to unanimous reports the traditional settlement in Macha was of another type before incorporation into the Ethiopian Empire. Thus, the tendency towards village settlement, for instance, is said to have been stronger formerly than now. We shall never know whether this was the case or exactly what changes have occurred. It is, however, important to note—especially if we are to use the term ‘traditional’ settlement—that the ensuing ‘pax amharica’ and the introduction of new forms of land tenure may have had far-reaching effects on the settlement pattern. When I call a settlement ‘traditional’, I do not mean that it is unchanged, but that it, unlike the market-towns and villages, is rooted in the local culture.

A homestead is located on the land either owned or cultivated by its members. On land surrounding or near the homestead cultivation is intensive. Such land is often fertilized by the spreading of manure from the cattle kraal or by moving the latter from place to place.

Depending on altitude and type of soil, the pattern of cultivation varies greatly from one place to another. In the *kolla* region maize and sorghum predominate. At the intermediate altitudes, especially where there is black soil, teff is the main crop, and on the highlands barley, wheat, and leguminous plants are the staple products. On the *dega* and *woyna dega* in the southern parts of eastern Macha *ensete* (*ensete edulis*), the famous ‘false banana’ of south-western Ethiopia, has won a foothold, especially through the influence of the Gurage, Macha’s south-eastern neighbours.

Compared to agriculture, cattle husbandry is of less importance. Milk production is insignificant and often ceases entirely during the driest months of the year. An animal may be sold from a herd when taxes must be paid or debts for seed have grown too large. But since the size of his herd is primarily a gauge of the owner’s wealth and status, the production and consumption of meat are both small in relation to the number of animals. The large proportion of oxen, the not infrequent over-grazing of uncultivated regions, and a high mortality rate tend to counteract the

growth of the herds, and this naturally adds to the owner's reluctance to further diminish it by slaughter. Animal products for domestic consumption are more often supplied by sheep and goats than by cattle.

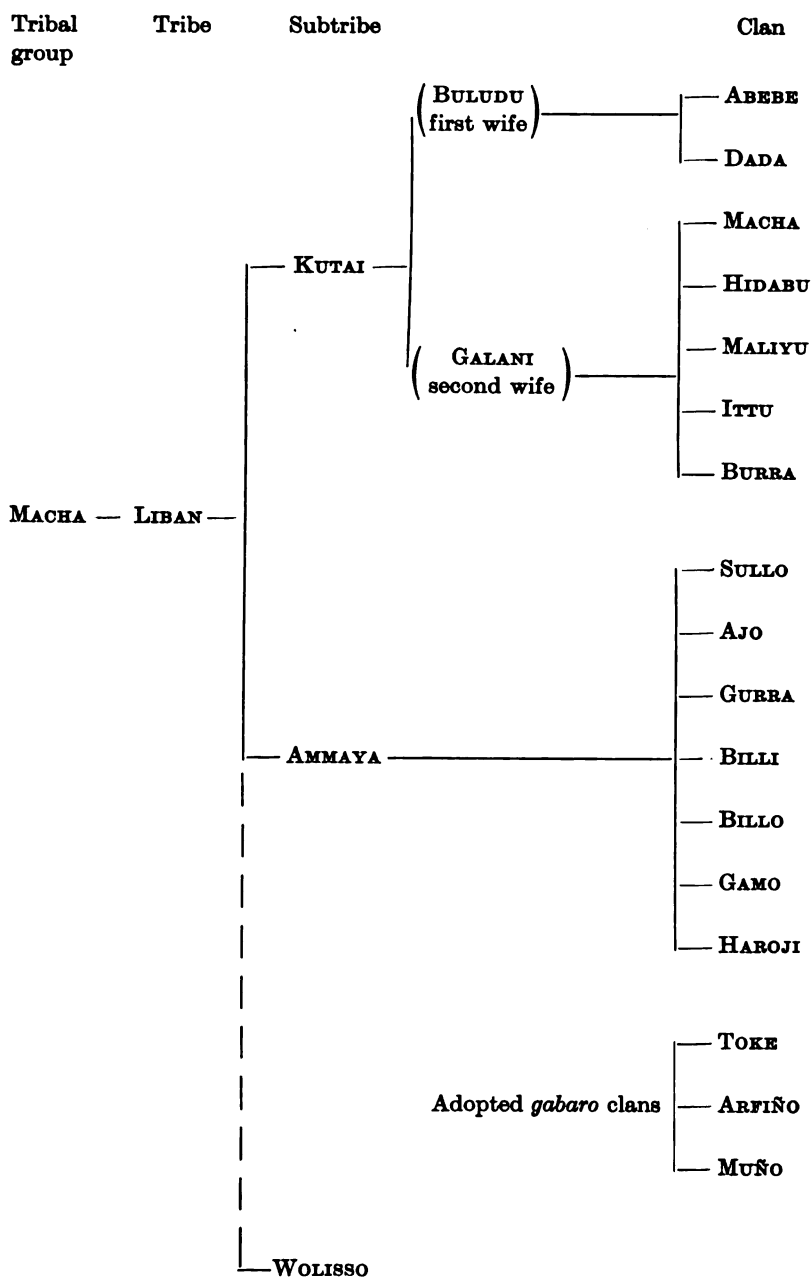
Hunting and fishing are on the whole economically unimportant in eastern Macha. Battue hunts are sometimes organized, especially towards the end of the dry season when game is weak from lack of water and food. Because of settlement density and intensive cultivation, however, there are few regions where this kind of hunting is of any real significance.

IV. TRIBE, CLAN AND LINEAGE

The tribal and subtribal structural levels among the Macha have had no practical political function since the territory was incorporated into the Ethiopian Empire at the end of the 19th century, and it is not certain that they constituted any corporate political entities even earlier in the same century. Tribal and subtribal names are regarded by the people today merely as regional designations and are seldom if ever used to identify individuals. Tribal genealogical traditions are also vague and frequently confused, although they agree in some general respects. All groups based on descent, whether lineages, clans, or tribes, thus trace their genealogies to a common ancestor, Macha. There is, however, great confusion in the traditions as to his origin. According to one of the most widely held views, the ancestor of all the Galla was Borana. According to another, Macha and his brother Dači, the sons of Sapira, were the progenitors of all the Macha and Tulama Galla. Still another holds that the original ancestor was a Borana Galla named Lalo who served as a slave under King Zera Jacob.⁵ When Muhammed Grañ invaded the country, the Emperor Lebena Dengel's daughter sought refuge with Lalo. From their children the Macha, Arsi, Wollo, Raja, Wollega, and Tulama Galla are said to be descended. According to a fourth group of traditions, the Macha derive from a mythical Ghelad, whose patriline consisted of Omer, Elifas, and Canama.

These different traditions are interesting, not because they can provide anything of 'historical' value which they cannot, but because of their confusion which gives a picture of the many types of influences to which the Macha have been subjected. The Borana of the first genealogy appears to be an aetiological forefather. Like the Galla in other areas, the Macha

⁵ The informer who mentioned this tradition did not know the time of Zera Jacob's reign (1434-68) but said only that it was very long ago.

FIG. 2. *Clans of Liban Kutai and Liban Ammaya*

distinguish between 'pure' Gallas who go under the name of *borana* and those of 'impure' descent whom they call *gabaro*.⁶ It is interesting to note that among the Borana of southern Ethiopia the common ancestor is called Horro. The second tradition seems also to be aetiological in character.

The third tradition strongly suggests Amharic propaganda in its representation of the Macha as descended from a Galla slave to the Ethiopian king on the male side and from an Ethiopian princess on the female side. On the basis of such a tradition the allegiance of Macha to the Amharic state could easily be advocated. This tradition, in fact, according to an early chronicler⁷ was circulated in Amharic writing.

The fourth group of traditions which resemble those cited by Cecchi⁸ also has a propagandist character and represents an attempt to relate the Galla genealogically to the Islamic peoples of the Near East.

The confusion in tribal genealogies created by these special interests, only briefly exemplified here, recurs at 'lower' genealogical levels. The ambition on the part of different groups to place themselves in genealogical positions which will establish their purity and seniority in respect to rival groups is evident. Such tendencies make it meaningless to try to construct a reliable chart of the Macha tribes and clans and of their genealogical interrelations. I have chosen instead to describe briefly the structure of the descent groups within my limited field area in eastern Macha.

Whereas the tribe and subtribe constitute a purely nominal level in the Macha social structure, the *gosa*, the patrilineal clan, has retained important functions. A *gosa* usually has a genealogical depth of 12 to 15 generations. The counting of generations and naming of ancestors is a popular occupation on many occasions. Strangers who meet identify each other by naming the clan to which they belong. Should they happen to be members of the same *gosa*, they reckon generations together until they reach a common ancestor, after which they consider themselves as *obolesa*, brothers.

The Macha are also aware of the genealogical relationships between the different clan founders. This is particularly important when members of several clans assemble on ceremonial occasions where rules of seniority have to be observed. The relations between clans within the same tribe are determined primarily by the relative seniority of the *gosa* founders.

⁶ In Tulama the same distinction is made between *borana* or *akako* and *dalata* or *gabaro*.

⁷ Beke 1848, p. 4.

⁸ Cecchi 1885/87, vol. II, p. 473 f.

If several clans are descended from a group of brothers, the relative ages of the latter become a criterion of seniority. If the ancestors have been sons in a polygynous union, the marital status of the mothers is also considered. The clan founded by a son of a ritually senior wife is thus senior in status even to clans descended from biologically older members of the same family.

Although a clan today is a dispersed group, traditions and the fact that clan names and regional names often coincide would seem to indicate that it had a more localized character formerly: i.e., the majority of a local group belonged to the same *gosa*. Its disintegration in this respect very probably started before the incorporation. It was certainly accelerated by subsequent events. At the end of the last century eastern Macha was torn by constant dissensions between local groups. Incorporation into the Ethiopian Empire brought with it more peaceful conditions which greatly increased spatial mobility. The great famine of 1889-92 which severely affected the region, government expropriation of land, and the introduction of Central Ethiopian land tenure created a demand for new land in less settled areas. Pacification stimulated trade and encouraged the growth of market villages drawing their populations from all parts of Macha. Personal conflicts which formerly could not be solved by emigration now led people to leave their local groups and seek new homes. All these factors in combination contributed to diminish the local attachment of the *gosa*. In spite of this development it has retained a ritual corporateness in eastern Macha which is centered in the *kallu* institution with its ecstatic ritual system.

According to older informants the *gosa* is the largest exogamous group. On this point, however, rules and practices differ. It is clear that exogamy today does not depend primarily on the principle of group membership but, as elsewhere in northern and central Ethiopia, on the genealogical distance required for marriage between a man and a woman. This distance of generations from a common ancestor in the father's patriline varies between 7 to 12 generations. A distance of three generations in the mother's patriline is also a bar to marriage.

Each clan consists of several lineages, *manna*, house, or *balbala gudda*, large doors, as they are also called. These are subdivided into smaller *balbalas*. Unlike the *gosa* the *balbala* is a segmentary group and is considered to be such by the Macha themselves. This conception is supported by the fact that *balbalas* often vary greatly in genealogical depth without being terminologically differentiated. We can distinguish between two com-

mon types of segmentation. One, which we may call symmetrical, consists in the routine formation of new lineages within an existing lineage when the latter has reached a genealogical depth of 4-5 generations. This segmentation is symmetrical because it tends to follow the accepted pattern of kinship solidarity within the group, even though it may be brought about by an accidental occurrence. The other type of segmentation, which we may call asymmetrical, is caused by serious disagreements that produce a division of the lineage that from the kinship point of view appears asymmetrical.

In Macha a *balbala* is regarded as an exogamous group. However, if it is very large and has a genealogical depth of more than 12 generations, marriages may occur within it. The large *balbalas* are in many respects similar to clans and are frequently dispersed groups, while the medium and small ones tend to coincide with local groups.

The smallest segment in Macha lineage structure is the group which in daily speech is referred to as *warra-ko*, my people, and comprises all those patrilineally descended from a still living man.

Through marriage and childbirth the *warra* of one person is brought into relation with the *warra* of another, especially the various affinal groups which the Galla include under the general term *warra sodda* and the minimal lineage of the mother's brother, *warra esuma* or *hesuman*. Together with his own *warra* these groups constitute the nuclei of a person's kin.

Each of these three types of *warra* are corporate groups of kin—or, more specifically, minimal patrilineages. There are also other classes of kinsmen to which the term 'kin category' rather than 'kin group' is more properly applicable.

One of these categories is *lemmi*, a term for patrilineal kinsmen with special reference to those who live in sufficient proximity to each other for occasional assembly to be possible. Sometimes actual groups may be recruited from *lemmi*, especially for important ritual activities such as adoption and the reconciliation of the parties involved in a murder. Although a *lemmi* may coincide with a minor lineage, *balbala finna*, and even theoretically with a major lineage or a clan, it does not actually constitute a group in and of itself and, therefore, can perhaps be best characterized as the maximal local patrilineal kin category.

A second and narrower category of patrilineal kinsmen is called *ante* or *ana*. It functions in certain special situations, particularly when a man dies without true heirs; in this case his *ante* can claim his land and other

property. Theoretically all members of an individual's clan are considered to be his *ante*, but as a practical matter it comprises only those descended from a common patrilineal ancestor three to five generations removed from Ego.

A third category is the *firra*. It is more comprehensive than *lemmi* since it embraces all kinsmen, both consanguineal and affinal, on both the father's and the mother's side. It also includes friends, especially those who are likewise neighbours, and thus resembles the old English 'kith and kin'. The kin and non-kin components in *firra*, however, are appreciably less distinct. Formerly neighbours were likely to be connected by kinship ties, and this is often the case still today. The *firra* also includes ritual kinsmen; e.g., the *jala*, who holds a boy at circumcision and is therefore regarded as a ritual father, and the *abba* or *haḍa kristina*, godfather and godmother respectively in a Christian baptism.

In Macha's social structure today clans have their greatest importance in ritual life. This is also true of the maximal lineages. Moreover, the latter retain an exogamic character. In clans and to some extent maximal lineages the genealogically senior *kallus* serve as clanheads, especially in ritual questions. Minor lineages lack a corresponding formal leadership, although groups of senior men can act as informal lineage councils. The minimal lineage has both an economic and ritual corporateness, centered in the land which it sometimes owns and usually cultivates collectively, and in its collective cult of ancestral divinities.

It is difficult to determine the relative importance in the social structure of the unilineal organization on the one hand, and of the groups recruited from bilateral and affinal kinship categories on the other. A detailed analysis of these aspects is beyond the scope of this study. It should, however, be mentioned that groups recruited on the latter basis play a great, not to say predominant, part in political and economic life on the local plane. Various kinds of co-operative work groups, associations for mutual aid, and local political factions are all recruited in this way.

III

DIVISION OF REALITY

I. INTRODUCTION

Without a knowledge of the basic ideological premises for the conception of reality, it is impossible to understand a society's system of norms, its legal system, or, in this case, its organization of authority. Irrespective of whether such premises should be analytically explained as functions of social factors, it is necessary in a study like this to describe them as they appear to the Macha. It is only in this way that the logic of Macha actions and organization of actions becomes apparent.

In Macha, however, the conception of the nature of reality is not based upon any uniform and non-contradictory system of mutually inter-consistent themes. Only to a very limited extent do representations of faith form an independent system of thought. Most often they are intimately connected with and varied by the special context of action in which they may occur.

Uniformity is not increased by the fact that present-day Macha is a society undergoing change. This change is not taking place synchronically or on a common front. In one tract a 'traditional' form can dominate; in another region a new element within the same socio-cultural field has taken firmer hold.

This is also true of the conception of reality. Ideas that refer to older situations are blended with new ones without the Macha themselves being always aware of the inconsistency. To this must be added the confusion which, from the observer's viewpoint, is created by the many subsystems of belief, each one determined by its social and economic contexts, and each one expressing variations of the Macha's interests, values, and knowledge.

With the caution that these circumstances render essential, and with continual reference to the context of action, it is nonetheless necessary to describe the general system of basic premises constituting the frame in which the Macha interpret their reality and formulate their strategies of action.

A good deal of information on the character of reality as the Macha understand it remains unverified in our sense of the word. This is natural enough, since the amount of scientifically 'objective' knowledge in their illiterate and technically unspecialized society is limited. This does not mean, however, that the requirements for a rational explanation of the environment in its various aspects do not exist or even that they are fewer than in a literate society.¹ Nor is there any lack of demand that information and explanations should be 'verified' and 'substantiated'. The difference is not at this level but lies in the manner of verification. For the Western scientist verification consists of some logical test which renders an explanation admissible and information valid. For a Macha Galla the possibilities of experiment and testing are severely limited, even if they are, as a rule, to be found within some part of his area of experience.² That 'extra' which can serve as evidence and verification in this defective situation is taken from other sources. The myths, the ritual concepts, and the traditions all have a character which distinguishes them from individual and subjective interpretations; they appear as independent of personal qualities and opinions, as distinct and unchangeable. These characteristics give them the validity demanded by the requirements for a rational explanation of reality.

One result of this orientation is that all important concepts employed in the interpretation of reality tend to be ritual concepts. This in its turn reveals a fundamental feature in the Macha world view. The ritual concepts and the myths contain knowledge which is regarded as 'a priori' and independent of subjective observations and opinions, because they refer to a kind of reality different from the human everyday world. In short the meaning of this to the Macha is that the world is divided into two types or qualities of reality: one human and the other more than human. All the Macha representations and actions referring to the nature and meaning of reality are in fact based on such an idea.

Before I try to discuss the nature of this division and its implications, it must be made clear that the line drawn by the Macha between different parts of their reality differs very considerably from that which in Western

¹ This view can be compared to the one expressed by Lévi-Strauss in his discussion of "l'efficacité symbolique" (1958 p. 217f).

² In Macha folk medicine one finds, for instance, that the orthopedist deals with broken bones in essentially the same way as his Western colleague. Internal disorders, on the other hand, are usually treated by the application of ritual knowledge and technique.

tradition has been expressed in the terms natural and supernatural. The difficulty of using this terminology to characterize the Macha conception of reality is increased, moreover, by the fact that in Western tradition the terms already have two radically different connotations in two different contexts. Supernatural can mean that the supernatural is real but of another quality than human reality—the natural. Actually this view, which can be called the religious interpretation of the relation between the supernatural and the natural, implies that the supernatural is, in the proper sense, real. The human world—the natural—is only a faint reflection of this ‘real’ reality. The other meaning of the term supernatural—the sceptical one—implies that the supernatural is identical with non-natural, that is to say not real.³

None of these meanings coincide with the distinction made by the Macha. Contact with divine powers does not constitute any incomprehensible miracle. Possessions are numerous. Every individual and every family have their ancestral guardian spirit. Under the floor of the house live the *ekera*, the dead. If, when crossing a river, one neglects to offer tribute to *Borantičča*, the divinity of the river, he may drag one down into the water. Many other similar examples could be given which show that the gods are part of ‘nature’ and reality.

The line of division runs within reality as a whole. It does not imply a distinction between mutually exclusive categories, but rather one between ‘human’ and ‘more-than-human’ reality. The Macha terms for these two spheres of reality are *wan nama* and *wan wača*—the things which belong to man and the things which belong to heaven. They correspond almost literally to Lienhardt’s rendering of the corresponding concepts among the Dinka.⁴ In spite of this, I am not prepared to accept his translation of these into human and ultrahuman reality. The meaning of ultra as ‘on the other side’ can give the impression that the term ultra-human covers a non-human reality. This does not correspond to the Macha interpretation. Instead the ‘divine’ part of reality has human qualities, but of a much more powerful kind. Although they are seldom represented in human form, the divine powers are like men, with the fundamental dif-

³ Other authors have already criticized the use of the term supernatural in anthropology. Their main objections have been that it either implies a way of reasoning about reality which is too sophisticated or that it does not correspond to the distinctions actually made. See Bidney 1949, p. 333; Nadel 1954, p. 4; and Lienhardt 1961, p. 28 f.

⁴ Lienhardt 1961, p. 28.

ference that they are without human limitations. In order to preserve as far as possible these important basic meanings in a translation into technical language I would suggest, for want of something better, the terms *human* and *suprahuman* reality.

I have already emphasized that it is not a matter of two mutually exclusive categories. The points of contact are many and intermediate forms numerous. Nor can one find any corresponding exclusive types within the field of action. On this point the Macha are anti-Durkheimians. Their rites can be simple accompaniments to technical actions in everyday contexts. When beer is served, the first calabash is handed with a simple gesture of politeness to the genealogically senior man, to the guest present, or to some other particularly respected person. A rapidly mumbled phrase of blessing is expected in return. The rites can also be part of complicated ritual systems where the technical actions serve solely as transmitters of ritual-symbolic communication. In the one case, it is a question of an everyday secular context. The other situation is of the type to which Durkheim was obviously referring when he formulated his viewpoints on the sacred. Differences in attitude and behaviour are considerable, and the two types of ritual are different also from the sociological point of view. In the first situation the ritual added to the technical action tells us, as Leach has suggested, something of the social status of the participants.⁵ In the other context the function of the social structure of a society as antecedent to the ritual is not equally obvious. It would seem that, at least in specialized ritual situations, the ritual action and the assumptions upon which it is based tend to create their own particular social order. The role of the sexes can alter, high social status can become low, low become high.

However, I shall not here involve myself in the many intricate problems inherent in this question. Instead I should like to establish the characteristics that can be with certainty attested as common to the ritual action and the ritual concepts in the two contexts mentioned above, and that, therefore, justify the application of the term ritual in both cases. The common element is not the similarity of action or of any attitude among those participating. The only thing common to all Macha ritual concepts and actions is the assumption that there is within reality a boundary between its two qualities, and that one division of reality—the suprahuman—can ‘explain’ circumstances in the human part. Con-

⁵ Leach 1954, p. 10 f., p. 14.

sequently, the idea that one area can 'explain' the other means that it is considered a 'cause' of the other division. And to be the source or cause of something means to the Macha to have power over it. The boundary between the two divisions is, therefore, not only a boundary between different qualities of reality but also between different kinds of power. The purpose of ritual action is to transcend this boundary and thereby establish channels of communication through which the suprahuman power can flow into the human world. Thus in its essence, all power, according to the Macha idea, goes back to suprahuman power. The Macha respect the senior member of a beer drinking party because, in terms of age and genealogy in relation to the other members of the group, he provides a more effective channel of communication to the suprahuman power. In the same way, the man of wealth or of otherwise good repute is not respected only because he is rich and powerful. Obviously, he has a special relationship with the suprahuman, something which endows him with success and good fortune.

By listing the most important ritual concepts and circumscribing the most prominent contexts of ritual action, I shall try to map this boundary between the human and the suprahuman. Such a reconnaissance of Macha reality will also provide basic knowledge about the divine world, from which truth, norms, and power are believed to be derived.

This approach is not new. Ever since Malinowski's study of the function of the myth⁶ anthropologists have emphasized that myth and ritual legitimate or validate the existing social organization. My main aim, however, has not been to argue about the rational function of ritual knowledge and ritual action. Instead, by discussing the character of the two divisions of reality and the type of boundary that separates them, I want to make it possible to understand how and for what purpose the Macha attempt to tap and utilize the knowledge and power existing on the suprahuman side. This question is of great interest in a situation like the present one in Macha, where ritual experts aided by their special relation to the suprahuman have come to play an important role in the local organization of authority.

II. THE CONCEPT OF WAKA

There are two main concepts in the Macha interpretation of the suprahuman; one is waka and the other ayana. The former means sky and/or

⁶ Malinowski 1926.

god. The second has rather the meaning of spirit or special divinity. The essence of their respective meanings and the relationship between them cannot be defined in any simple or definite way. Waka is the most comprehensive of the two terms. It includes ayana. This makes it natural to begin a survey of Macha ritual concepts with a discussion of waka.

Waka is the vault of the sky. He is the sky. He is linked to the sky. All three variations of the copula include the Macha's (and Galla's) view of the relationship between waka and the sky. In certain contexts the importance of the physical vault of the sky is dominant. Waka is described in atmospheric and meteorological terms: the blue waka, the red waka; the clouds are said to be found either on or in waka. In other associations waka is interpreted both as the physical vault of the sky and as a spirit identical with it. In this way the rainbow is said to be waka's belt, *sabbata waḱayo*. In yet other contexts waka is a being which is independent of the sky that can be seen. His house, *manna waḱa*, is spoken of, and I was often asked, though most of the time jokingly, if I had seen his house or his cattle when I had been in the aeroplane.

It may be tempting to assume that the twofold meaning of the word represents an identity between waka, the vault of heaven, and waka, the divine being. Such a conclusion is, as far as I can judge, false. The primary meaning attached by the Macha to the word waka when it is used without attribute or epithet corresponds roughly to the meaning of the English word god. When the word refers to the 'physical' sky, this is clear either from the attribute or from the situation in which the word is used (when, for example, the positions of the stars in the sky are being pointed out) or otherwise from the context. At the same time, however, the vault of the sky does not belong to the same class of phenomena as other physical elements making up Man's immediate environment. I should like to formulate its distinctiveness in this way: the vault of heaven, which is thought of as a kind of roof, constitutes a 'physical' boundary between the human and the suprahuman divisions of reality.

Just as one cannot assert that waka is identical with the vault of the sky, it is impossible to maintain that he is thought of as having some personal form. It is true that the Macha do use human images to characterize waka, but they are aware that it is a question of analogy and that nothing can be known about the appearance of waka. He is experienced as a person because he is living and because the Macha, like other people, find it difficult to imagine an acting agent without attributing to it their own experience of the human actor.

Attempts on my part to elicit precise conceptions, either personal or stereotyped, usually led to the informant's rejecting even the use of human analogies. "We can see the work of waka, but not waka himself"; "What can we know?" A circular statement that "waka is waka" was a frequent way of concluding a discussion.

The vagueness in the representations of waka's form is accompanied by a tendency to identify him sometimes with attributes and qualities and sometimes to think of him as a Supreme Being. This creates difficulties in the translation of the term waka similar to those described by Lienhardt for the Dinka.⁷ As long as it is a question of waka as a mythical Supreme Being, the creator and father of mankind, and as long as the texts refer to this aspect only, the translation God does not create any very thorny problems. But like the Dinka's word *nhialic*, waka is used to describe the quality of numerous 'secondary' suprahuman powers, who are conceived as 'beings'. Because of this extensive meaning it is inadvisable to translate waka by the word God, which in most western theological traditions connotes ideas of unity and independence. To solve this translation problem, which is, of course, at the same time a fundamental semantic problem, Lienhardt suggests the use of the term Divinity instead of God for the following reason:

"'Divinity' like *nhialic*, can be used to convey to the mind at once a being, a *kind* of nature or existence, and a quality of that kind of being; it can be made to appear more substantive or qualitative, more personal or general, in connotation, according to the context, as is the word *nhialic*. It saves us too, despite its occasional clumsiness, from shifting our attention from a Dinka word to undefined, yet for everyone fairly definite, conceptions of our own."⁸

In spite of all other differences between the Dinka and the Galla, Lienhardt's account of the translation problem and his suggestion for a solution of it can be applied also to the Macha.

Lafa, the earth, is in some respect closely related to waka, although the two are not identical, or for that matter of the same quality. The two concepts appear together in myths about the creation of the world and, above all, of mankind. Their combination is also found in prayers and particularly in oaths. In the adoption ritual one prays that waka protect the newly adopted like a father and lafa look after him like a mother. There is no question, however, of the two concepts being of equal importance. Waka's pre-eminence in the conception of the suprahuman is so

⁷ Lienhardt 1961, p. 29.

⁸ Lienhardt op. cit., p. 30.

great that it is in fact only for the sake of completeness that the mythological liason with the earth must be included.

As the relation between the two is primarily a mythical one, it is not easy to ascertain or to illustrate. Mythical knowledge is not very common in Macha today and the transmitters of mythical tradition are few. We need not speculate why this is so. It may have to do with various influences from the neighbouring cultures, to which Macha has been exposed for centuries. It may have to do with the relatively little interest in 'meta-physical' speculation that the Macha generally show.

Some myths, however, do exist and are quite extensively known. Among them are certain origin myths. Two of the best known of these, which are also found in other Galla areas, for example, in Borana and Mati,⁹ are as follows:

"Long ago Heaven and Earth lay close together. Heaven fertilized the Earth and the Earth bore him men."

"Long ago Waka lay near the Earth and men could ask Waka all things. Waka once sent a heavy rain which did not cease. Among those suffering from the rain was the mule. And the mule asked for it to stop. But the rain continued. Then the mule struck out behind and hit Waka. And so the mule kicked Waka up from the earth. Waka cursed the mule and from that day on the mule has been unable to bring forth young. On that day the rain ceased."

Besides these stories in which waka and lafa appear together, there are descriptions of a mythical golden age when waka and men lived together in a peaceful world.

The closeness of heaven and earth in the myth does not represent a state of physical nearness only. It stands for moral quality, peace, and security as well. The present relations between the human and the suprahuman world were brought about by a break in this primordial, moral relationship. One myth describing this rupture is widely spread. I have chosen to reproduce it in its entirety and include it in the text rather than relegate it to an appendix. With its mingling of motifs from various mythical contexts and the obvious infusion of external elements, especially from Orthodox-Christian Ethiopia, it is highly typical of the mythical tradition that exists in Macha today.

"Formerly when the earth was flat without mountains, there was a sick man who was bedridden. One day Waka came to his house and asked for water. The sick man's wife turned to her husband and said to him cursing: 'May you be sick, what shall I give him?' Waka then turned from the wife and said

⁹ cf. Haberland 1963, p. 609.

to the sick man: 'May God help you!' and went his way. The man's wife became angry and rushed away. Then Waka met two women who were putting up each other's hair. Waka looked like a poor man. But even these two women refused to leave their task and fetch water for him. When Waka left the place, he turned around and saw that the two women were eating each other. He then returned to his house. To the sick man who lay bedridden Waka sent food and drink, and in the mornings he visited him in the shape of an old man. The sick man said: 'May God be thanked, I am better.' And although no one helped him, he had enough of everything, water, fuel, and food. And when the man had recovered, Waka told him to go to a big forest and pick out a big tree. Of this he was to make himself a coffin. And when the man came to the forest to choose a big tree, he found an axe beside the tree. He began to chop down the tree and, whenever he wearied of the task, he found a basket full of food and drink beside the tree. He prepared the coffin and Waka came and saw what he had done. When Waka looked at the coffin, he saw that the lid did not fit, and he told the man to make the coffin more level so that the lid would fit. The man completed the coffin and when it was ready he lay down in it. Then Waka kicked the coffin down into the earth, and it sank deep down into the earth. The man disappeared into the earth and Waka caused a rain of fire to fall over the earth and it rained fire day and night for seven years. During this time valleys and mountains were created. After seven years Waka sent out a raven to the earth to see what was to be found there. But the bird did not return. It sat down to eat and did not come back. Waka cursed the raven and marked it with the white patch on its head and said: 'From this time forth you are *budda* (one who has the evil eye).' In its place he sent a dove and the dove flew over the whole earth and finally found the place where Waka had buried the man. And the dove heard someone groaning and breathing in the bowels of the earth. She returned and said that there was nothing living on the earth, but that she had heard the sound of some living thing in the earth. Waka bade the dove take him to the place. When they arrived at the place, Waka stamped upon it. The man who lay in the coffin then came up out of the earth and Waka asked why he had slept for seven years. But the man replied: 'Oh, I have only slept a short time.' And because the man replied that he had only slept a short time, Waka blessed him and said, 'Hereafter you will sleep a short time.' This is why man only sleeps for a short part of the day.

"The man had no wife and he lived on what Waka gave him, but one day he told Waka that he was tired of living alone in the forest. Then Waka made a wound on his left thigh and took the blood and laid it in a basket and told the man to keep it and not to touch it for four days. When the man looked after four days, he saw that there was a girl in the basket. In two weeks she had already grown bigger and in two months she was big enough to be married. Then the man asked Waka what he should do with her. And Waka said, 'Marry her and make her your wife.' And the man did so and had thirty children by her. Then one day Waka came and asked to see all his children. But he only showed him fifteen children. The rest he hid for he had begun to be evil. Waka blessed the fifteen he saw but said to the man, 'The fifteen you hid let them

become animals'. And they turned into 'demons' and various animals and ran into the forest. Formerly the man had been able to eat everything. Everything he touched became food. Now he had nothing to eat. He then said to Waka: 'I am weary of living without work. Give me something to work with.' Then Waka said: 'Henceforth you shall work hard in order to eat!'"

Other myths depict how waka in the form of N a b i visited Man long ago on the earth. In some versions of the myth about the creation of mankind, demons, and animals, it is N a b i who begets the thirty original children. Just as in the myth recounted above, it is the original breach, *čubu*, of waka's discipline that has resulted in Man's and the human world's situation today.

In such myths the essential character of the suprahuman is made tangible to the Macha. Waka is the creator of all things—*wakni hunduma ume*. He has power, *humna*, to do and undo everything. All his dealings are directed by his righteousness and truthfulness. He knows everything—*wakayo hunduma beka*. Above all he has knowledge of truth and justice, *čuga*. This, together with his purity—*kulkullu*—which renders him incapable of tolerating injustice, leads to his punishing crime, *čubu*, and uncleanness (dirt), *čuri*, and to his blessing those who do not commit crimes against *čuga*.

This short survey of waka's qualities provides a starting point for a definition of the boundary between the human and suprahuman world in Macha reality. It is a cosmic boundary. The vault of the sky and to a certain extent the earth itself lie beyond the human sphere. It is also a boundary between different types of power or rather between suprahuman power and human inability. Last but not least it is a moral-ethical boundary between *čuga*, truth, and *čubu*, lies and wrongdoing. The cosmic boundary encircles the world of men. But the boundary created by the power of the suprahuman and its moral quality runs within this world; indeed the two types of reality can meet within Man himself.

The relations between Divinity and men, between the suprahuman and the human, are conditioned by the nature of this boundary. The two are distinct, but at the same time unifying bonds of dependence and communication draw them together despite the cleavage. For the Macha the relation between Divinity and men receives its most adequate expression in the father-child relationship, or, where the Divinity has the character of a female being, in the image of mother and child. Despite the nearness of Divinity to men which this analogy would seem to attest, Divinity as waka has a transcendent element, a superiority over the world of men which

resembles the elevation and inaccessibility of the sky above the earth. It is in the form of other beings, in the various *ayana*, that Divinity and the quality of *waka* come really close to Man and his world. In connection with them the parent-child relationship is not a mere analogy. It is, in fact, tangible and invested with actual experience.

III. THE CONCEPT OF AYANA

For the Macha Divinity is one.¹⁰ It includes the suprahuman quality in its entirety and in all its manifestations.¹¹ Nevertheless, much of the contact between Man and the suprahuman takes place through the cult of special divine 'agents'. The general name for these is *ayana*. Like the word *waka*, *ayana* belongs to a category of concepts whose 'common' or 'basic' meaning is specialized in various contexts. Depending on the context, one can distinguish five different meanings.

1. *Ayana* has in part the meaning of divine being. As with *waka* there is little attempt to keep to precise pictures of its appearance or exact place of abode, even though each *ayana* has its own 'physical' symbols and is thought to belong to a certain general sphere within reality. Some *ayana* can possess men or, as the expression is, descend upon men.
2. *Ayana* also means a man's quality, character, or personality, and is at the same time regarded as the being that creates this personality. It is both the character and its cause. As the latter the *ayana* is conceived of as a kind of guardian divinity (sometimes called *kalluma*) which is believed to have its place on a man's right shoulder.
3. The third meaning is closely connected with the second. It refers to a kind of guardian divinity of the family called *ayana abba*, the father's *ayana* or *N a b i*. There is also an *ayana haḍa*, the mother's *ayana*, identical with the female divinity *Atete*. For each level of the Macha social structure there is an *ayana abba*. Like the individual and the family, the lineage and clan have theirs. The latter is the *ayana abba* of the senior clan *kallu*. All *ayana abba* are ultimately identical with *N a b i*, who is *waka*, and who is, therefore, the *ayana abba* of all Galla.

¹⁰ In the description of the *kallu* institution I shall further discuss this statement.

¹¹ Certain reservations must be made for the 'spirits', *setanas*, which possess men and engender sickness.

4. The fourth meaning is also closely associated with the second. Ayana, which is the 'kernel' of the personality and thereby 'the cause' of an individual's character, can also be translated by luck or good fortune. The expression *ayana kaba*, he has ayana, is therefore the same as saying that a man is successful.
5. Ayana also means day, in particular festival day. Each day in the lunar-month calendar is thought to be under the influence of an ayana, which makes the day favourable or unfavourable for various undertakings. Here, too, the meanings 'character' and 'cause of character' are combined in the word.

It can easily be seen that the element common to all these varying uses of the word is the meaning of suprahuman being or power. In this 'pure' sense the word has a special connection with the *kallu* institution as the term designating its divinities. It is thus a central ritual concept in the material on which this book is based. In order not to distort its meaning, I prefer from now on to use the term without translating it into roughly corresponding terms such as special divinity, spirit, suprahuman being, power or the like.

The division into human and suprahuman quality creates a basic boundary line in the Macha reality. But there are also other boundaries which contribute to form and, also to a certain extent, to differentiate the conceptions of the suprahuman. In comparison with the great boundary, the two most important of these lines have an almost vertical character in the sense that they cleave both the world of Man and of Divinity, producing the same type of differentiation on each side. One of these boundaries is of a moral nature. On the human side it runs between the experience of evil (or harmful) actions on the one side and good (or harmless) actions on the other. On the suprahuman side it leads to the conceptions of good and evil ayana. This division is not directly concerned with the Divinity's two faces, that of helper and that of giver of punishment. Punishment by the divinities does not imply any malice on their part. It is accepted as a matter of course, and, if the divinities are not appeased, as an unavoidable consequence of men's crime against *duga*.

The evil ayanas belong to the suprahuman world, they are more-than-human, but at the same time they are inhuman. They are like *waka* in power but unlike him because of their amoral quality. Nor are they ever described as *waka*. They are thought of as both contrary and subordinate to *waka*, but he or an ayana can use them to punish *čubu*.

These evil *ayana*, which are usually called *setana*, cannot be directly translated in terms of, for example, Christian conceptions of the Devil. They are evil in the sense that they are harmful to men. They frighten and hurt, but they can be persuaded and calmed with appropriate respect. They can bring about a failure of the crops, send sickness, and cause death, but they are not really needed as an explanation of the existence of evil in itself. To Macha the problem of evil can be satisfactorily explained as the result of man's crime and Divinity's punishment. It is when the *duga-čubu* theory breaks down as an explanation, when no breach of the rules is found which could be atoned for, that the Macha refer to the *setanas*. They represent the seemingly unmotivated, chaotic, or anarchic type of evil.

The other vertical boundary, which goes through both the human and the suprahuman world and which differentiates the conception of Divinity, is that between male and female. It can be noted already in the myths of the male Heaven and the female Earth, and the two *ayanas* who are considered to be the most senior of all stand on either side of this boundary. The senior male is *ayana abba*, who is ultimately identical with *N a b i*. And in his turn *N a b i* is none other than the incarnated *waka* who, according to the myths, once visited the earth. The senior female *ayana* is *A t e t e*, whose power is associated with female fertility and thus with the continuation of the family. Among the Macha the most revered of all *ayana kallu* is the female *M a r a m*. There are strong indications that *A t e t e* and *M a r a m* are interchangeable names for the same kind of being. They are both addressed as mother, and there are many points of contact between the family cult of *A t e t e* and the *kallu* rituals for *M a r a m*. Just as the male *ayana* of the *kallu* is often identified with his *ayana abba*, *M a r a m* is sometimes regarded as his *ayana hada* who traditionally is regarded as identical with *A t e t e*.¹² A further linking of *M a r a m*-*A t e t e* with the earth, the female primordial element, cannot be made. According to a mythological genealogy *A t e t e*'s mother was *A y o B a r*, the mother of the ocean.

A t e t e appears to be the most specialized and 'independent' of the traditional divinities, largely, it seems, because she is female in contrast to the male *waka*. This applies also to *M a r a m*. At the same time they are both *waka*—Divinity. They do not live in any special place separate from *waka*. They are *ayana* and *ayanas* are *waka* and *waka* has *ayana*.

¹² The same opinion is held by Cerulli 1922, p. 127 and 1930, p. 59, p. 97.

IV. MACHA RITUAL TOPOGRAPHY

As I have already argued, the division of reality with its consequences does not represent any merely 'abstract' or 'theoretical' distinction for the Macha. On the contrary, it is a question of a concrete boundary line which can be pointed out. A map of the Macha physical reality would be, for example, not only incomplete but actually incomprehensible without an indication of this meridian. Its existence has led to certain parts of the environment being marked because of their special connection with the 'suprahuman'. This has then created a ritual or suprahuman topography,¹³ which constitutes an extremely significant part of the Macha's knowledge of their environment and supplies important fixed points for man's orientation both in space and in time.

It has already been established that the earth itself is suprahuman in character, although it is not equivalent to the heaven. That this is not a mere question of mythological theory is clear from the respect which lafa is shown in various situations. To give weight to the truth of what one says or to a request for something, evidence is presented or a question posed "in the name of waka and lafa."

To further emphasize the validity of what one says or the importance of a question one takes a few blades of grass in one's right hand and raises them while speaking. It is not advisable to strike the ground unnecessarily with one's staff. But should there be something important to say, or if a judgement is pronounced, then one's speech can be followed by striking the ground with the staff. A spear should not be placed tip downwards on the ground, but should rest on it with the *jinfu*, the encased end of the shaft, the symbol of traditional custom and justice.¹⁴ There is, however, no occurrence of any cult of the earth. Before the sowing and after the harvest it is customary to slaughter animals or offer libations in honour of *D a č i* or *A b d a r i*, the *genii loci* who have their *tullu*—height or place of sacrifice — under a large tree on the family land.

Among the most important points in the ritual topography which are known to a larger number of people are the sites of the great *kallus'* ritual houses, usually a hill or a hillside. Sometimes these houses stand in groves of huge trees which from time immemorial have served as places for sacrifice

¹³ The use of this term was originally suggested to me by professor Izikowitz; cf. also Izikowitz 1962, p. 84, where he uses the term "sacral topography."

¹⁴ The spear symbolism will be discussed in detail in connection with the description of *kallu paraphernalia*.

to some *ayana*, for rain-making ceremonies, or for the great collective ceremonies in honour of *waka*.

Annual fires to celebrate the Ethiopian New Year, *maskala*, were lit on heights of this type. Only a few decades ago these served as 'relays' in the oral communication system which made it possible, by means of heralds using a special calling technique, to pass on news of hostile attacks. Since the time when the Macha were incorporated in the Ethiopian Empire the Orthodox round churches, built by choice on similar heights, have provided new fixed points in the landscape.

The rivers in which lives the *ayana laga*—the *ayana* of the river who is sometimes believed to be *Borantičča*, the 'divine' python—belong in the same general way as the earth itself to the suprahuman sphere. The rivers create natural limits for communication within a district. Their suprahuman quality formerly at least affected communications. On a journey for some ritual purpose, not more than one river a day should be crossed since the traversing of a river weakens a human being. In earlier times when representatives from the various Galla regions went on pilgrimages to the southern areas, these rules could not be broken without severe consequences.

The Macha go down to the rivers for the annual *irresa*-festival when the rains have stopped to carry out the great prayer ceremonies to *waka* at the commencement of the new harvesting period. These places of prayer, like the river meadows to which the Orthodox Church takes its holy *tabot* at the *ṣimkat* festival on the 19th and 20th January, are all well-known points of orientation in the landscape.

This general ritual makro-topography has its counterpart in the mikro-topography of the Macha homestead and its nearest surroundings.

The *tullu abdari* as I have already mentioned lies near the house. This is the meeting place between Man and Divinity that is believed to be especially connected with the productivity of the soil. On this place men by means of sacrifice seek to secure the power and protection of Divinity for their crops and for the people living in the homestead. Formerly, the graves lay on the family land and the respect accorded them also contributed to the retention of the family's usufruct rights in the land.

In the settlement itself and in the houses, distinctions between the two types of reality are also made. One of these is based upon the Macha conception of the meaning and value of various directions. Two points of the compass are known, east, *boru*, and west, *lita adu* or *ḍiḍima*.

The sun rises in the east. There the day begins and from there, according to tradition, the Macha came to their present homeland. The myths relate that once upon a time the first Gallas came from the other side of the great water in the east. And therefore, ideally, a 'pure' *borana* must build his house so that the door faces towards the east.

There is a similar difference between right, *mirga*, and left, *bila*. The right stands for the good, that which deserves respect. Before a judge the plaintiff stands on the right and the defendant on the left. If a son builds his house near his father's, he ought to build it to the left of the latter so that looking from his door, he has his father's house on the right.

In addition to its practical functional division, the Macha house has also a ritual architecture. Among the pillars supporting the roof inside the house there is the *utuba nabi*, the *Nabi's* pole where *ayana abba* receives its sacrifice twice a year. Another *ayana*, *Jari* who is believed to guard the house, its people, and cattle, occupies the hearth. The slaughter of sacrificial animals takes place on the threshold of the door and on the ground immediately outside it. Libations and food to *ekera*, the dead, are placed by the *gorro*, the sheltering wall in front of the door.

V. THE CONCEPT OF MAN

It is not only in their environment that the Macha find points of contact where the human and suprahuman meet. The same division of reality into two qualities also influences, not to say determines, their conceptions of Man. It is, therefore, not surprising that the most important concepts in Macha's own 'anthropology' are ritual concepts in the sense that they are related to the suprahuman. Actually the Macha knowledge of men can be differentiated into three analytically different types of knowledge. One category is composed of objective, anatomical knowledge, especially concerning the skeleton and the outer muscles. Another type describes the parts of men thought to be essential in the sense that they are either bearers of life or the mainspring of a man's mental faculties. As such these parts share a special quality that makes them special points of contact with the suprahuman. Finally, as I have already mentioned, each person is believed to possess an *ayana*.

Gāra, the region of the diaphragm, is especially linked with a man's mental faculties and personality. The will and expressions of feeling are regarded as emanating from this region. By judging a person's *gara* as

bad or good, strong or weak, brave or cowardly, the whole person is given a characterization. The eyes also have a special faculty. They make the individual's personal qualities perceptible to his fellow men and transmit the power he possesses through his *ayana*. The idea of the evil eye, *budda*, which the Macha share with most other people in Ethiopia, plays a large part in the interpretation of the eye's character. The ill will or jealousy of *budda* is feared, especially by those who because of their prosperous and successful dealings are held to attract the *budda*'s envious and destructive influence. The Macha go to great lengths to protect especially their young children and small animals from potential *buddas*.

Men can also bring suprahuman influence to bear on others in a more concrete way. An action particularly fraught with blessings is that of spitting after wishes for prosperity have been made. Urinating has something of the same character in a negative sense and is usually coupled with curses and sickness.

Blood, *ḍiga*, is connected with the life-function itself. Its importance is particularly apparent from the use of blood in many ritual contexts as well as from the strict taboos regulating contact with blood. Blood, however, does not have the same prominence in a description of the function of life in a man as the throat and the region of the larynx, *lubbu*. Of the two Macha concepts for life, *lubbu* and *jireña*, *lubbu* symbolizes the physical function of life as distinct from *jireña*, which has more the sense of existence (from the root *jir*—to be, to exist). Sometimes the word *afura*, breath, is used in the meaning of 'biological' life.

The shadow, *gaddidu*, also belongs to this special category of life and personality bearing elements. It is dangerous to strike a man's shadow or to stamp on it in ill will. To spit at it or curse it is also believed to have dangerous consequences for its owner.

One problem directly connected with this categorization of the Macha knowledge of Man is the question of the relationship of the various parts of Man to death. This, however, is a question where there are very few clear ideas and where, therefore, an anthropologist who is interested in the 'ideology' of death faces grave risks of influencing his informants. What can be said with certainty, however, is that the Macha speculate very little on this subject. In reply to my oft-repeated questions on what finally remains of a man after death, the commonest answer was that, apart from one's bones, children, and reputation, nothing remained. Only when I mentioned the Amharic word *nafs*, the Orthodox Church's term for soul, did I receive answers such as: "Some say there is a *nafs*

which will fly to heaven after death. But it is the *kesi*, the priests, who know about that. We know nothing."¹⁵

Even ritually the observance of death is comparatively insignificant. Both the burial and the funeral feast can rather be characterized as remembrance feasts. In all circumstances worship of the dead person is non-existent or weakly developed. The dead person is apparently thought to remain at or near the place where he or she lived as well as in the grave. Twice a year the dead, known collectively as *ekera*, receive offerings in the form of beer and porridge.

At certain longer intervals and to a certain extent according to convenience—for example, every sixth year—a bull is sacrificed to the father's *ekera* and a cow to the mother's. In character the *ekera* are shadowy and weak. Their scream, which can sometimes be heard, can frighten men, but in comparison with the *ayana abba*, they are of very little consequence to the living.

VI. RITUAL ROLES

Thus for the Macha the boundary between the human and suprahuman runs through the geographical environment and gives rise to a ritual topography by which the points of contact between the two types of reality are marked. The boundary runs further through Man himself creating a ritual 'anthropology'. Similarly in the society certain individuals and positions constitute links between the human and more-than-human quality. For the present day Macha, the most important of these social bridges between Man and Divinity is to be found in the *kallu* institution.

In addition to this, which I shall deal with in its own particular context, there are other points of contact. I have already indicated that a pure and straight genealogical line can function as a channel between the living and the suprahuman powers. Therefore, in each minor lineage the genealogically senior member occupies a special position. It is he who twice a year, before and after the rains, carries out the family's most important ritual, the sacrifice of the bull to the *ayana abba*.

He also performs the rites for other *ayanas* worshipped by the household. Should he, when in contact with the *ayana*, particularly the *ayana abba*, be possessed, his position is strengthened and it is not uncommon for him to gain influence even outside his minor lineage. In such a case

¹⁵ It should be noted that I am describing the ideas of the purely rural Macha. In trade and market villages the Christian influence on ideas is decidedly stronger.

he is not merely the ritual spokesman for his group. He is transformed, while possessed, into the *ayana's* body thus actually bringing Divinity into the group. Indeed during the short period of possession he is experienced by the members of his *warra* as transformed into an *ayana* himself.

In spite of his ritual duties the senior member of a minimal lineage is not a ritual specialist. This term I wish to reserve for those in whose social role the ritual element predominates. The rainmaker, *malima*, the *čamsitu*, the bringer of drought, and the *abba raga* or *raga* (the father of the wonders or the one who can explain the wonders) all fulfil this requirement.

The latter is the specialist in traditional knowledge *par préférence* and is among the most respected men among the Macha. A *raga's* office is usually inherited. Because of this a number of persons in his minimal lineage often serve as his assistants in transmitting tradition. In this way veritable chairs in traditional knowledge have been created with 'professors' and assistant 'lecturers' in historical tradition, customary law, ritual technique, and divination in various forms. Because of his knowledge of myth and tradition as well as of the rules for human conduct, the *raga* is reckoned among those who act as intermediaries in transmitting the will and power of Divinity to Man.

Intermediate between the ritually weakly institutionalized office of the senior member of a minor lineage and the ritual experts just mentioned is the *gula*. He is a man who has celebrated the *butta* ceremony and thus completed the gada-class system's 40 year cycle. He has thereby achieved a position which makes his advice respected and his blessings desirable. His rank gives him the right to lead the great collective prayers to *waka* on various occasions. By observing the ritual rules for conduct he further emphasizes his special position as a channel to the knowledge of morals and justice and thus to Divinity.

Besides these specialists, there are persons whom the Macha call *nama kulkullu*, pure men, who, without having any formal position, by reason of a pure borana genealogy and unblemished moral behaviour merit the honorary title of being like *waka*.¹⁶

VII. RITUAL AND TIME

The places in the geographical environment where men seek contact with Divinity constitute, as I have already said, vital fixed orientation points in the Macha geographical space. In the same way ritual actions contribute to the order and rhythm of the time dimension.

¹⁶ For a more detailed discussion see page 137 below.

Even without a detailed description of the Macha's conception of time, it is obvious that these concepts are neither clear nor uniform.

The day, the 7-day week, the lunar month, and the 365-day year are the basic units of Macha time reckoning. But besides this method of reckoning time, there are several systems of time indication which are as important, or even more important, for the ordinary man's orientation in time. Market days, the year's seasons, the various phases of the production cycle, each produces its rhythms.¹⁷ Parallel with these, the ritual annual cycle or cycles create their repetitive patterns within which man can define his position in time. One such system is composed of the traditional rites of the agricultural year, which for the most part are performed by small groups such as families and minimal lineages. During the beginning of the vegetation year before the small rains in March and April and the first sowing of maize, sacrifice is made to *San b a t a*, who is considered to possess the power to determine the character of the coming year or, as the phrase goes, "to make a good or bad year for men and beasts." At the end of the period of the small rains and, as a rule, during the Ethiopian Easter, there are sacrificial festivals to the *ayana abba*, the most important of all the family rites. The sowing of *teff* and other crops after the start of the big rains is accompanied by sacrifices to *A b d a r i*; these also takes place before the harvest begins at the end of the rainy season during September-October. In this period there is also a great collective ceremony, the so-called *irresa*, a form of thanksgiving to *waka* with the participation of larger regional groups.

Further sacrifice to the *ayana abba* is usually also made at this time. Moreover, rites are celebrated for the cattle on occasions when sickness or poor grazing make the *ayana's* help particularly welcome. On such occasions sacrifice is made to *A b d a r i* or *J a r a b b i* (*J a r i*?) in the cattle kraal. An annual sacrifice of no fixed date to *Set a n a* to avert his possible ill will also forms part of the yearly ceremonial pattern.

Parallel with this cycle of annual rites, the *dallaga*, the ritual of the *kallu*, recurring every fourteenth day or once a month, creates yet another system of time indications.

The incorporation of Macha into the Ethiopian empire has also resulted in the introduction through the Ethiopian church of the Orthodox festival calendar, with which the Macha may have been acquainted earlier. Apart

¹⁷ For the term rhythm in this sense I am indebted to professor Izikowitz (cf. Izikowitz 1955, p. 195).

from Sundays, the various saints' days are observed and also the three great church festivals, the feast of the Epiphany on the 19th of January, Easter together with the nearly two month period of fasting which precedes it, and the feast of the finding of the Cross on the 27th of September. These holidays are respected as feast days throughout Macha, but as points of contact between Man and Divinity they are less important than the rituals in the two systems mentioned above. My impression is that this is not so much the result of conscious opposition to Orthodox ideas and customs—for the Macha Divinity is one and the same for all known men—as of factual ignorance of these ideas and customs. Despite the fact that Orthodox churches have existed in the area since the turn of the century, there has been little communication of ideas and values, perhaps because of the exclusiveness of the church's ritual language, *geez*, perhaps because of the priests' ethnical background or other factors.

The different ceremonies of the life cycle take place naturally enough during some part of the vegetation and production year. Depending on the variations in the economic situation during the year, there is a tendency to concentrate the various 'rites de passage' to the periods after the harvest and threshing and before the great Easter festival.

In addition to the four ritual cycles mentioned there is yet another system of ritual contact with the suprahuman, although it has clearly shrunk in importance during the last generations. It is the *gada* system's 40-year cycle of rites, of which nowadays only the final ceremony, the *butta*, remains. In the *butta* those who have completed the 40 years in their *gada* group are circumcised and become *gula* (see above). For reasons which will be given in their context later on, the *butta* is held every 8th year. The term is still used by the Macha to denote a period of 8 years. Earlier a person's age was usually counted in so and so many *butta*, which is still sometimes the case among the older generation. Unlike the systems of ritual indication of time, the reckoning of time in *butta* units constitutes a traditional form of continuous time reckoning in the proper sense.¹⁸

This short survey of the methods of reckoning and indicating time among Macha is both superficial and incomplete. It suffices, however, to demonstrate the importance of the rites as fixed points for orientation in time. At the risk of over-simplification I would go so far as to say that, for the most part, time for the Macha is a question of the distance between the occasions when men in the various centres of the ritual topography

¹⁸ cf. Nilsson, M. Pn. 1920, p. 9.

perform actions designed to bridge the gap between the two qualities of reality and thereby to open channels through which the power of Divinity can enter into the human world.

Naturally enough the actions by which men seek to bring about this communication are, from the analytical viewpoint, symbolic actions. But from the Macha point of view, and it is that which I have wished to give in this background description of their reality, the essential is that ritual actions are actual division-transcending actions. It is this one must bear in mind when one tries to understand a type of social organization which has its centre in a ritual system of action.

IV

THE KALLU INSTITUTION

I. INTRODUCTION

The noun *kallu*, feminine, *kallitti*, in present-day Macha dialect means a ritual expert who has a special relationship to one or several *ayana*, which possess him at regular intervals. A *kallu* may be a man or a woman, but is usually the former. A female ritual expert of this type is referred to by both the masculine and the feminine form of the word *kallu*. A *kallu*'s senior wife is designated solely by the feminine form and serves as one of her husband's closest assistants during the rituals, without therefore being a *kallu* in the real sense of the word.

We cannot be completely certain of the etymology of the term. Among the Amhara and in Amharic-speaking Galla regions, such as parts of Tulama, the word is associated through a folk etymology with the Amharic root *kal*—voice. According to this interpretation the word signifies the possessing *ayana*'s voice that speaks through the mouth of the *kallu*. Several objections, however, make it difficult to consider this derivation anything but a late folk etymology inspired by a chance phonetical similarity.

The term, for instance, is not limited to the areas bordering on the Amhara regions, but is also found among the Borana and Guji in the far south. Here it signifies a traditional office believed to have existed since mythical times, whose incumbents for some eight to ten generations are recalled by name. Moreover, if we wish to link the term with a root shedding light on its present meaning, we do not need to look beyond the Galla language. The root *kal* in Galla means slaughter, both profane and ritual (*kallu*—to slaughter, *kalla* or *kalma*—slaughter, *kaltu*—the one who slaughters). In Macha the *kallu*'s ritual house is called *galma*. Phonetically *g* and the glottalized *k* are close to each other in the Macha dialect. An interpretation of *galma* as the house or place of ritual slaughter seems, therefore, quite plausible. In this connection it is interesting to note that the terms designating 'the chief ritual expert' among the Konso, Gauwada, and

Tsamaka in south and south-western Ethiopia have the meaning of "father or lord of the slaughter."¹

There is also a similar and partly overlapping term, *ḵalličča*, which in contrast to the word *kallu* is found all over Ethiopia. The term *kallu* is connected with possession in only Shoa and Wollega; in Borana the same word and the institution it stands for are without this association. *Ḵalličča*, on the other hand, is everywhere intimately associated with trance and possession. In Borana, where these ecstatic phenomena are so recent that the majority of my middle-aged informants remember when they first appeared in the region, it is fairly easy to make a distinction between the two concepts. *Kallu* always designates the few traditional 'high priests', while *ḵalličča* represents a mainly anti-social, or at least anti-traditional, ritual role.

In Macha a distinction is also made between the *kallu* and the *ḵalličča* roles even though both display possession elements. The latter word is said to have been introduced by the Amhara, and the Macha themselves do not apply it to a traditional *kallu*. In the first place, a *ḵalličča* has a very different and much lower social status than a *kallu*. Unlike the latter, a *ḵalličča* is often accused of asocial behaviour—resorting to conjuring and black magic for his own profit. Even culturally a *ḵalličča* is considered foreign or partly foreign to Macha tradition. According to the Macha, the vagabond so-called Sheik Husein pilgrims, who wander from place to place, especially between market villages all over Ethiopia, are *ḵalličča*. On the whole the Macha emphasize their connection with Islam. In comparison, the *kallu* has quite another standing in society. Genealogically a 'great' *kallu* is regarded as the most senior person in his lineage and clan. Socially he is the most respected member of both the local and the descent group, and even outside these he is highly respected. It is beneath the dignity of a great *kallu* to ask his ritual clients for gifts or payment. A *ḵalličča*, however, is notorious for extracting remuneration by threats or other means.

Despite these differences it is, of course, impossible to insist on any absolute dichotomy between the two roles. They constitute two social extremes in the category of ritual experts characterized by ecstatic ritual technique and possession. In consequence, it is not always easy to avoid terminological confusion. A *kallu*'s respected and successful role lends itself to imitation and economic exploitation. Amharic-speaking people

¹ cf. Haberland 1963, p. 155.

who do not know the difference between the two types call them both *ḵalličča*, making it often difficult to decide from the term of reference which type is meant. Others who are familiar with conditions but for various reasons wish to disparage the *kallu* socially and perhaps 'religiously' use the pejorative term and thus contribute to the terminological confusion.

II. THE KALLU AND HIS AYANA

The ecstatic ritual technique and the capacity for possession are important elements in the *kallu* role.² They are, however, not its only elements nor is either exclusive to the *kallu*. The phenomenon of possession, as I have already mentioned, occurs in other ritual roles, such as that of the *ḵalličča* and of the female members of the *muata* cult (Gurage *muyet*) which has infiltrated Macha from Gurageland. It is also to be found in many cases of spontaneous possession by 'evil spirits' (*zar*, *setana*). What gives a *kallu* his eminent position is rather a combination of ritual capacity and certain moral qualifications. The latter make him, in contrast to most other people, *ḵulḵullu*, pure and clean. This purity is both a privilege and an obligation. He is regarded as *ḵulḵullu* because he is genealogically pure, which means that, if he belongs to a *borana* clan, he must belong to a *borana* lineage in the clan and not to some adopted *gabaro* lineage. In a *gabaro* clan, of course, this can not be required. In either case the *kallu* must belong to a descent line that has given evidence of purity in the sense of not evincing hereditary diseases, since these are considered a sign that there is in the line some unsettled conflict between Man and Divinity, a *čubu*, which takes the form of disease.

But it is not enough for him to fulfil these demands. To be *ḵulḵullu* he must in his conduct abide by the obligations of ritual and moral cleanliness. He must respect traditional taboos and ritual observances in all situations, and in all his dealings with other people he must follow the rules of *ḵuga* and avoid the acts of *čubu*.

It is such ascribed and achieved purity that makes the clan *kallu* the ritual leader of his clan or lineage and at the same time its *angaffa*, its eldest or senior member in every sense. In addition, his usually good economic status, his role in the dispensing of local justice, and his leadership in other respects further strengthen his social standing and stress the contrast between him and others who share with him merely the ecstatic technique and the art of possession.

² I am discussing here the role of a chief *kallu*, i.e., a clan *kallu*.

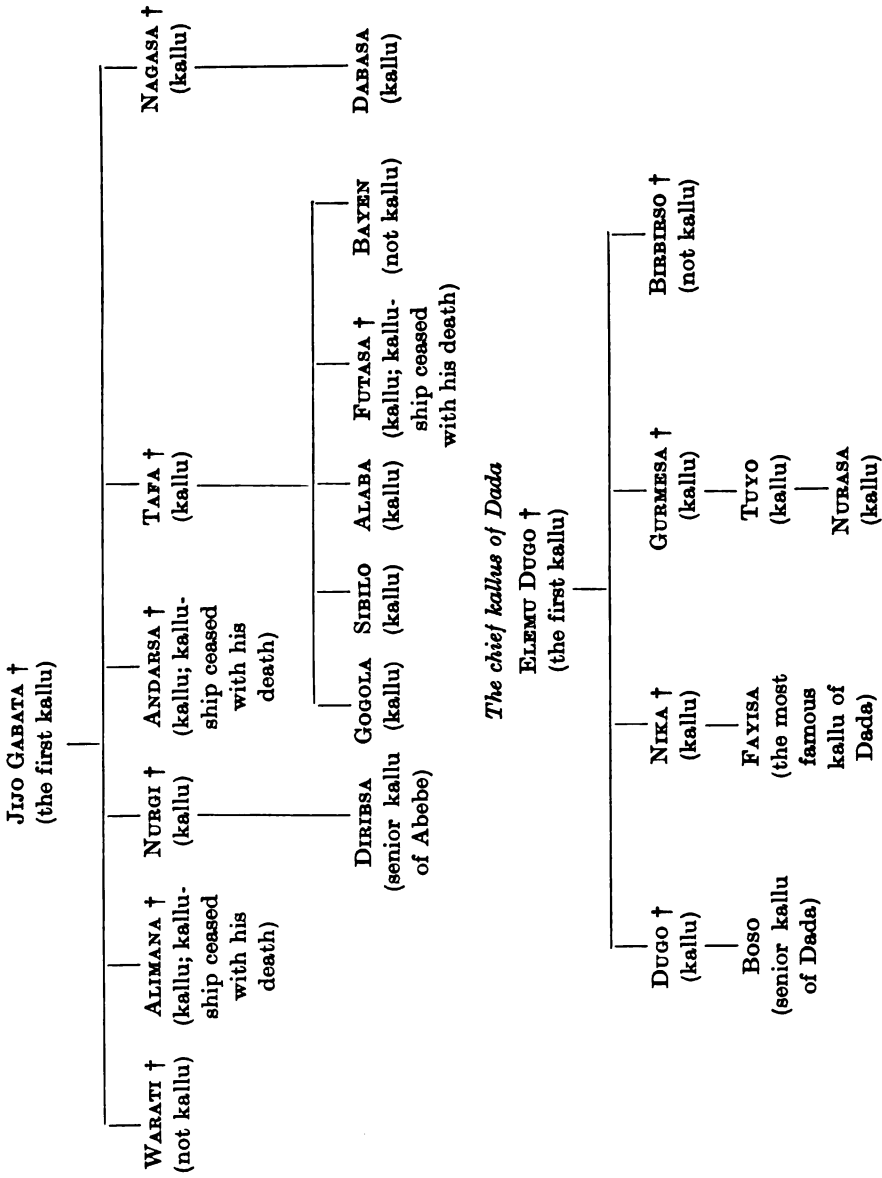
This circumstance is clearly reflected in the terms of reference and address. A kallu is addressed as *gofta*, lord, which is the usual term of respect outside the kinship group. His special position is emphasized, moreover, by the addition of the clan name, i.e., *gofta* Gamo, *gofta* Dada, the lord of Gamo, the lord of Dada.³ The genealogically senior kallu in a clan is referred to as *aleka* kallu, head or chief kallu. Other titles of esteem are *abba biya*, father of the country or the tract, and *moti* from the verb *mou*, to rule.

Both kallus and other informants agree that the kallu institution in its present form is a relatively late phenomenon. The clan kallu in the Sullo clan represents the fourth generation of kallus in his clan. In the Abebe clan only the father's and grandfather's generations in the lineage of the present kallu are reported to have been kallus. The situation is the same in the Gamo and Dada clans. Other kallus who are not reckoned as *gosa* kallus are even younger and new ones are still appearing. The traditions regarding the youth of the present kallu institution in Macha are confirmed not only by the various kallu genealogies, but also by unanimous reports from the regions bordering on eastern Macha. These point to eastern Macha as the place of origin of the kallu system that in the last two or three generations has expanded into neighbouring areas.

In spite of this, the traditions describing the origin of this type of kallu exhibit a decidedly mythological pattern. There is no complete agreement as to the clan or the region in which the kallu and his ayanas first appeared. The most widespread tradition states that the ayana first came to the Abebe's Jijo Gabata, but, on the other hand, there is the fact that the Sullo clan has had four generations of kallus compared to three in the Abebe clan. Tradition is unanimous, however, in indicating the regions around the Rogge Mountains and the Tukkor Plain near the source of the Guder River as the tracts where the present kallu institution originated.

The view of this institution in its present form as a recent phenomenon is further strengthened by the custom of identifying the various ayanas mentioned in the songs and prayers with those considered to have been their first 'bearers'. Thus, in the Abebe clan the most important of the ayanas, Maram, is called *gifti* Jijo, the lady of Jijo. Similarly in the Sullo clan she is called *gifti* Tufa Boru, and in Abebe, *gifti* Elemu. In much the same way the traditions regarding the place of origin of the kallu institution are confirmed by the frequent geographical identifications of ayanas.

³ A kallu's male ayana is addressed in the same way.

FIG. 3. *The chief kallus of Abebe*

M a r a m, for instance, in large parts of Wollega, Tulama, and Arussi is called *haḍa Macha*—Macha's mother, *haḍa Abayi*—the mother of Abayi, a place on the eastern slopes of the Rogge Mountains near the Tukkor Plain, or M a r a m Dalatti—M a r a m of Dalatti, a small hill on the western slopes and the location of one of the Sullo kallu's two *galma*, ritual houses.

Besides traditions and ritual terminology, the fact that various ayanas are identified by their 'kinship' relation to an original ayana provides a third possibility for determining the centre of expansion of the present institution. Thus all the clans in the Kutai and Amaya subtribes consider their M a r a m, who is called the mother of Macha, to be the original, while the kallus of the neighbouring Tulama groups, Ada, Galan, Baço, Meta, and others, identify their ayana as *intala haḍa Macha*, the daughter of the mother of Macha.

Although the position of the kallu, especially that of the clan kallu, in eastern Macha today is strong and well-established, forms of opposition do exist. Some traditions referring to the situation during the 19th century relate how newly established kallus were driven away by hostile groups. The opposition today, however, has a passive character and even as such is not strong. In the forms I have been able to observe, it is based on a feeling that the kallu institution in its present form, especially because of its ecstatic ritual technique, represents a break with what is considered to be the traditional ritual pattern. At times I received the impression that the opposition is a result of conflicts between generations, but obviously it cannot be generalized in this way only. It is rather a question of the difference between a few local groups and lineages that have been faithful in varying degrees to a traditional non-ecstatic ritual ideal and groups that became early adherents of the kallu system. The passive opposition that I could register was formulated in such a way as to support an interpretation implying lineage differences:

"Our father did not care to go to the kallu. We follow our father." "Our *warra* does not believe in kallu."

In other opinions the objection is only to the ritual ideology of the kallu institution: "I know nothing about the ayana. I know only *waka* and *lafa* in my heart (in my midriff, *garako kesa*)."

These instances of opposition support other information and evidence indicating that the kallu institution is of recent date, but they do not mean that the kallu's position as leading ritual expert is seriously questioned by any group in

Macha today.⁴ Even those who do not often attend a kallu's ceremonies respect their clan kallu and otherwise fulfil the ritual obligations inherent in the relation between a clan member and his clan kallu.

Ultimately the kallu's position and power stem from his possession of an ayana. The entire present kallu institution in both its ritual and non-ritual aspects is built on this direct and intimate relation between the kallu and Divinity. This association, however, even after it has been well established is neither certain nor self-evident for the future. It can decrease in intensity or completely vanish, as the kallu genealogies from Abebe and Dada show clearly.

In order to keep both his contact with Divinity and to demonstrate that it exists, every kallu has a system of rites recurring at short fixed intervals of usually two weeks. The climax in these ceremonies and their ritual purpose is the possession of the kallu by the ayana. Everyone is aware that this form of direct contact through possession is a new element in Macha's system of 'division-transcending action'; but it is not, therefore, opposed in principle to the traditional conception of reality. Neither the ecstasy itself nor the most important of the kallu's ayanas are considered to be imported from outside. It is Divinity which has chosen to reveal itself to Macha in this way, and the premises for this kind of contact already exist in the traditional conceptions of Man and Nature and in the myths about the creation of the world.

In the myths of the origin of the ayana kallu this relation between the ayana and the 'traditional' conception of suprahuman reality is also emphasized. Every attempt to understand the ideological background of the kallu institution, particularly the nature of the association between the kallu and his ayana, must start with these myths. The most detailed describes how Abebe's Jijo Gabata received his first ayana and became a kallu.

"A man by the name of Gabata had two wives. He was an Abebe. One of his wives was barren and childless. The other had many children. The wife who had no children was wont to pray to Waka that she might bear children. She was very sad when she prayed because she felt alone. Especially when she saw other women and their children, she felt sad. One day there came a violent rain. And the rain was followed by a hailstorm. The lonely wife without children sat at the door of her house and watched the hailstorm. The other women's children played with the hail. One of the children picked up a hailstone in

⁴ With the exception, of course, of the Moslems, missionary Christians, and sections of the Orthodox Christian population in the market villages.

his hands and brought it to the sorrowful woman. And since she had never ceased to dream of a child, she took the hailstone which the child had given her, put it in her mouth, and prayed: 'O Waka, you who are all powerful, you have the power also to make a child of this hail.' Thereupon she swallowed the hailstone. Nine months after this day she gave birth to a son. This son was very remarkable and not as other children. He was born with *guduru* (the customary hair arrangement of a young boy). All were astonished when they saw this, and the boy was treated respectfully by his parents and considered a very remarkable child. When he was five years old, there came one day a very heavy fog. It darkened the land. When the fog came, the boy was playing outside the house, but when his parents looked for him in the mist, they could not find him. They feared that he had disappeared and began to mourn for him. They mourned for three days. On the third day he was found under a sycamore. When he was found, an ayana had descended upon him. And the boy told his people that they should build a *galma* near the sycamore. The boy's name was Jijo and his father was Gabata. He was the first great kallu among the Oromo."

In this myth the ayana and even the kallu himself are clearly associated with waka. Waka is not directly said to be Jijo's father, but his conception is described as a 'miracle' performed by waka. Nor is it stated that the ayana belongs to or comes from waka, but the possession takes place in a heavy mist, and there can be no doubt as to who has sent the mist. The third element particularly worth noting is the fact that the first possession takes place under the sycamore, which is one of the most respected ritual symbols of Divinity throughout Gallaland and has an important place in the ceremonial life of the traditional gada system.

Compared with the myth of Jijo Gabata, the tradition about the origin of the Sullo kallu is less detailed. It also differs from the former on certain essential points. I have recorded two partly corresponding versions of the Sullo myth. One describes how the first ayana was born and the other how Sullo's first kallu Tufa Boru received his ayana.

"In the lowlands in Gollo there is a place called Migira Gollo (Gollo's grass). There was once a little girl who was tending a herd of cattle there. She did not like tending the cattle and wanted only to dance. When she was alone, she danced with the whirling grass. And many times while she danced the cows ran away. For this carelessness she was punished by her parents. One day when she had been punished, she pulled up the grass and said: 'It is you who make me dance so that I am punished.' But when she had said this, she started to dance again and kept on dancing, for the ayana of the grass had descended on her. And from this girl comes M a r a m."

"When Tufa Boru was a young boy and tended the cattle, he met Maram. It happened in this way. He saw the grass whirled into the air by the wind.

FIG. 4. *The patriline of the chief kallu of Sullo*

MACHA	(tribal group)
LIBAN	(tribe)
SULLO	(clan)
GALA	
DAGA	(major lineage)
BILI	
GOBO	
BINENNI	(minor lineage)
GALMU	
TIKE	
BORU	
TUFA	(minimal lineage; first kallu)
ČILALLU	
LEMMI	
LEJISSA	(present chief kallu)

And the grass which the wind whirled up became a bird. This bird was M a r a m's bird. Thereafter M a r a m came upon him and he returned possessed by M a r a m and asked for gifts.

"But his parents were poor and had nothing but the meanest of things to give him. From that day Tufa Boru was as kallu. And he was the first kallu in Sullo, and M a r a m D a l a t t i (M a r a m from Dalatti, the place where Tufa Boru's *galma* was built) is the first and foremost of all the ayanas."

In these myths we do not find the ayana and kallu connected with the sky as they are in the story of Jijo Gabata. Instead there is an association through the whirling grass with the other cosmic element, the earth. Whirling grass and the frequent small tornados which pass especially across the lowlands during the hot hours of the day in the dry season are usually explained as an ayana's dance. When seeking an analogy to describe a possessing ayana, Macha often use the expression, "It is like a bird."

For the Macha the metaphors of these myths contain basic ideas concerning the nature of the ayana and the kallu, but they should not be regarded as a collection of dogmas that are accepted literally. At least for the reflective person in Macha they are figures of speech through which an attempt is made to circumscribe and explain experiences of trance and possession.

In contrast to waka himself who only appeared to men during mythological time, the appearances of the ayanas continue. Therefore, in addition to the myths already related, different kallus have their own traditions as to how the ayana came to them personally. In these individual traditions the events described are generally of recent date. Here it is rather a question of a kallu's own story or eyewitness descriptions by those around him. At all events the Macha regard them differently from the myths describing the origin of the ayana. They tell of an actual 'personal' relationship between a kallu and his ayana in a way immediately comprehensible to the Macha, while the origin myths describe the meaning and background of this relationship in a more general way and in a mythological language.

These autobiographies and eyewitness accounts have in common the unwillingness of the human being to submit to an ayana, his resistance, his stubbornness punished by misfortune, the ayana's continued coercion, the man's submission, and his subsequent rehabilitation.

"A man from Guduru whose father was a kallu refused to become a kallu after him. Then he became seriously ill. He lay paralysed for eight years. Then he thought it better to be a kallu than to be ill. And when he decided to assume the kalluship, he became well again."

"Akuma Jiru was already old when he became ill. No one of his kin or of his ancestors had ever been a kallu. His arms were paralysed, his legs also. When he yielded to the ayana, the illness went away."

An informant closely related to Diribsa Nurgi, Abebe's present chief kallu, told the following story:

"Nurgi was much respected in the whole of Shoa Province. He sent his son Diribsa to Addis Ababa to be educated. There the Emperor helped him. He received a good education and stood close to the Emperor. Then Nurgi died and at the same time his son became very ill. He did not have the strength to do anything. But he did not want to return to his father's land. A long time passed and Diribsa remained ill and powerless. Then the Emperor said to him: 'You will not get well here and your education affords you no joy. Return to your father's land and live as your custom bids you.' And Diribsa returned and became a kallu, and he became well again."

The Sullo clan's chief kallu himself describes in the following way how he became a kallu and succeeded his father:

"My father Lemmi was a kallu. He lived here in Dalatti. I was constantly with him in the galma when he worshiped the ayana. At this time the Italians came. They settled everywhere and ruled the people. Those who did not wish

to obey the foreigners withdrew to the forest and became *šiftas* (guerilla) and fought against the Italians. I was young and strong at that time. I fled from my father and joined the patriots and fought against the Italians for five years. I fought under *dedjasmač* Garasu. He gave me the title of *grasmač*. But I refused to receive the title. I did not want to have a title from anyone but my Emperor. But before the Emperor returned, my father died. I did not want to have anything to do with the galma and so I fell ill. The ayana made me ill when I refused. I was as though mad and ran to the forest. I remember nothing of this, but I have been told that I was missing for six weeks. During that time my kinsfolk prayed for me, and those who used to go to the galma prayed for me. Slowly I grew well, and then I felt the ayana for the first time. That time I was terrified. If I had refused, then the ayana would have killed me."

It is not my intention to make psychological generalizations concerning the kallu type of personality. For that I lack both qualifications and material. I would, nevertheless, like to warn against drawing any hasty conclusions as to a kallu's psychological constitution. The existence of the possession phenomenon, as well as the descriptions of the resistance to becoming a kallu and the illness caused by this resistance, could perhaps be considered indications of an hysterical disposition. Before making such a judgment, we must, however, remember the fact that possession phenomena are not in themselves considered abnormal by the Macha. They represent accepted forms of contact with the suprahuman whose existence and qualities are beyond all doubt. Aside from the anxiety of the possessed and his possible resistance to possession, there are countless instances to prove that Macha consider possession by the great ayana as something positive and, therefore, desirable. My personal impression of the clan kallus whom I met and who worked with me as informants was that they were emotionally stable and socially well adapted. Intellectually they were notably superior to the average informant. I never heard any comment which seemed to suggest that they were considered as deviant or 'unusual' in a negative sense. On the contrary, it was emphasized that, unlike ordinary people, they "are always the same" and that in their wisdom and their moral quality they rather resemble waka than human beings.⁵

In this respect there are, however, obvious differences between the established clan kallus and new kallus. My impressions were that the latter were less emotionally stable. Their opinions in consultation seemed

⁵ These positive judgements may, of course, have been influenced by the respect for the kallu and his ayana, in that one did not dare to express unfavourable opinions.

less considered and their relations to the ayanas were characterized by much greater anxiety. Furthermore, their possessions were markedly more violent than those of the former type of kallu.

Through the attachment of the ayana to an individual kallu, a relationship is created between Divinity and Man which is not easy to describe unambiguously. The nature of the attachment oscillates between near identity and a bipolar relationship. Some sort of distinction is always made between the kallu as a human being and his ayana, and I have not met any kallu who claimed to be more than human. During the possession, however, the ayana fills the kallu completely. He himself is reduced to a mere receptacle of Divinity which speaks through his mouth. In this situation the identity is almost complete. The intimate association thus created never entirely vanishes. Or as a kallu expressed it when discussing his relations with other people: "I worship the ayana in the *galma*, but when I travel, people worship me." In many cases, as we shall see later, the formal rules for intercourse with a kallu also contribute to make him comparable to the ayana to whom he is subject.

In other situations the bipolar character of the relation is stressed. Such is the case when the kallu acts as spokesman in prayers and sacrifice for his ritual group, and when the ayana is identified as the exclusive ritual 'property' of a certain kallu (ayana Abba Ofa—the ayana belonging to, or of, Abba Ofa, etc.).

In distinguishing between the two extremes of the relationship between ayana and kallu, one ought to emphasize that for the Macha there are not several types of association. There is only one. The differences that can be observed are merely results of functional variation or of one's point of view. The relationship centres around the role of the kallu as intermediary between man and Divinity and vice versa. He carries a man's wishes to Divinity and constitutes the channel through which Divinity's will is passed down to a man. The kallu cannot 'exist' without the ayana. The ayana cannot 'exist' without the kallu. In the kallu's rituals and activity the general character of the ayana is made manifest and, by his behaviour during the possession and through his personality, the kallu gives individuality and 'personality' to the ayana.

In order to function satisfactorily as a channel bringing the ayana and the power of Divinity into the world of Man, the kallu must preserve his purity. This obligation affects his relations with other men and his way of living in general. Two kinds of purity are involved. One is a kind of general moral purity, which means that he must follow the traditional

rules for conduct in Macha. He must observe strictly the incest rules regulating sexual relations and marriage. He must carry out the prescribed ritual actions at the times during the vegetation year and in the various phases of a person's life that are customary in Macha. He must strive to be just and mild in all his general dealings with other people. In short he must in all respects seek to follow the rules of *ɖuga* and refrain from any form of *soba*, untruth, and *ɖubu*, crime and injustice.

The kallu must also observe another set of purity rules of a more special type, consisting mainly of certain taboos regulating his interaction with 'ordinary' people and determining the consumption pattern for himself and for his household. These taboos may vary somewhat from kallu to kallu, but on the whole they have a common traditional character. These special rules of purity that underlie the many taboos circumscribing the role of a kallu are based on the belief that contact with certain elements in reality creates danger. Among these are blood, sexuality, and death, as well as anything that may symbolize them. For the kallu this signifies that he must avoid any contact with these elements which he himself cannot ritually control. He must also avoid persons associated with these elements who have not observed the prescribed quarantine periods and who can, therefore, adversely influence his purity. This means that proximity to blood, whether caused by animal slaughter or by accident or by staying in the same house as a menstruating woman, disqualifies a person from approaching a kallu. Depending on the nature of the contact, a quarantine of from one to three days is required. At least twenty-four hours must pass between the time of a coition and a visit to a kallu. For a menstruating woman the purification period is one week. After childbirth at least one month must pass before the mother may see a kallu, while the husband must refrain from visiting him for at least one week.

The same time interval is prescribed for those who visit a dead person's house. On this point the rules for the kallu's contact are particularly severe. Thus he may never approach a house of mourning, not even if the dead person is his own wife or another member of his family. Should a death occur unexpectedly in the kallu's own household so that there is not time to carry the dying out of the house, extensive purification rites must be carried out before the kallu can again occupy it and again dare to perform the rites for the ayana. The essential feature in this purification is the sacrifice of a bull and the sprinkling of the house with its blood; in this case blood has a positive ritual quality.

The kallu's fear of contact with death seems to me to be one of the

reasons why the Ethiopian Church, which after the incorporation began to penetrate Macha in institutionalized form, has had its greatest impact on funeral customs. Burial, which formerly took place close to the houses and was carried out by the kinsfolk of the deceased, now regularly takes place at the churches under the guidance of the priests.

The taboos regulating a kallu's food consumption apply to any food with direct or indirect sexual significance. Either such food is completely forbidden or food of a certain definite sexual character may be eaten but not food to which other kinds of sexual qualities are ascribed. Thus he may eat the meat of a bull but not of an ox; he abstains from heifer, but is permitted the meat of an old cow; goat and chicken are absolutely forbidden.

As to vegetables, the kallu avoids *talba* (linum usitatissimum) and *misira* (lens culinaris) both of which are considered to increase male potency. The red onion (*allium cepa*), one of the most common phallic symbols in Macha, the brown *misinga* (sorghum vulgare), and the similarly dark *dagussa* (eleusine corocana) are also forbidden. For these last two taboos there seems to be no reason similar to those mentioned above. The prohibition has perhaps something to do with the dark reddish colour, which may symbolize blood.

In addition to these taboos, there are also regulations concerning the production and preparation of food to be consumed by a kallu. Slaughter can only take place in his own household. The grain used for bread must be grown on his own land, and the meal ground with hand-mills by the women of his household. The same rules apply to the brewing of beer and the making of honey wine. Because of the danger of consuming, or in some cases even touching, something that has been contaminated, he is on the whole forbidden to consume anything prepared outside his own household. This taboo is very comprehensive and includes prohibitions against using other people's cooking utensils and sitting on other people's chairs. Certain kallus abstain from all physical contact with other people because of the risk of diminishing their purity.

All these considerations result in the division of a kallu's world into what is permitted and what is taboo. The forbidden elements are summed up in the term *wan lagu* (from *wan*, thing and *lagaču*, to avoid). For a kallu the observance of the *lagu* rules constitutes an unconditional obligation. It is also compulsory for all those who desire contact with him and his ayana and, to some extent, for the members of his household and his ritual assistants, as well as for other people closely associated with him.

As a whole this taboo system is not a new element or even confined to the kallu. It represents rather an application, and on some points an intensification, of common rules for those who in one way or another act as intermediaries between the human and suprahuman spheres. Similar prescriptions are, for example, observed wholly or in part by the men who have completed the gada system's forty-year cycle of ceremonies and have thereby attained the rank of *gula*. This is also true of *raga* and those who, through their genealogical position and their adherence to traditional customs, have earned the honorary title of a *borana kulkullu*—a pure borana.

The kallu's observance of the purity requirements and his dependence upon them for his existence as kallu make him both a focus in and a transmitter of the traditional culture. This is despite the fact that in its present form his institution represents something relatively new and has played, and still plays, an important role in the transformation of Macha society. Several rules indicate his function in the process of cultural continuity. The fire on a kallu's hearth, for instance, must never go out. Should it do so, extensive ritual measures are necessary before it may be lighted again. A second example is the custom that a kallu, like other prominent ritual experts, may not sit on a cracked chair. This is part of the accepted opinion that everything in a kallu's environment and all that touches him should be as flawless as possible. It is significant in this connection that the word for chair, *barčuma*, also means the customs of the ancestors, the way of life once given by Divinity in a mythical time.

Each kallu has several ayana. Usually each ayana has its own *galma* and its special ceremonies. This is invariably the case with the most important of the ayana, the female *M a r a m* and the male *J a b i r*.⁶ These two often go by the names *gifti*, the lady, and *gofta*, the lord. Thus the dualism of male and female in the conception of suprahuman power to be found in the origin myths, and of the male *waka* and the female *A t e t e*, is repeated in the kallu ritual system. *M a r a m* is definitely the most respected and at the same time the most popular ayana. Her name is clearly connected with that of *Mary* (Amh. *Mariam*). But to attempt, therefore, to identify her with the Holy Mother of Orthodox Christianity is both imprudent and incorrect. She is occasionally described as *durba*, virgin, but most of the time she is addressed as *ya haḍako*, my mother. It is possible that this double characterization ultimately goes

⁶ He may have other names as well.

back in part to representations of the Virgin Mary which have passed through many 'filters' before penetrating Macha, and in part, to the traditional cult of *A t e t e*, the mother Divinity.

In addition to *M a r a m* and *G o f t a* there are *ayanas*, such as *N a b i*, the *kallu's ayana abba*, frequently identified with *G o f t a*, and others more specifically associated with particular individual *kallus*.⁷ Beside *M a r a m* and the chief male *ayana*, these *ayanas*, however, occupy more modest positions. The total number of *ayanas* is difficult not to say impossible to give. For the Macha this is not a very important question. To them Divinity is one but can at the same time manifest or express itself in an infinite number of ways and, at least theoretically, through an infinite number of *ayanas*.

Despite the *ayanas'* individual names and different ritual attributes, the previously discussed aversion to a division of Divinity into several 'independent' beings can be clearly observed also in the case of a *kallu's ayana*. All attempts on my part to learn how the relationship of the *ayana* to *waka* and to other *ayanas* was conceived usually elicited the answer, that they are all *waka*. For the reflective Macha the idea of Divinity as both a unity and a multiplicity obviously does not present any logical difficulties. The lineage organization, where groups on one level are considered distinct and independent only to become part of a common unit at the next higher level, may provide a model for Macha's conception of the relationship between the different *ayanas* and Divinity. In the same way, the political system offers an example of how the problem of simultaneous unity and multiplicity can be resolved. This was actually hinted at by one of my *kallu* informants, although he was anxious to add that conditions in the world of Man can never wholly correspond to the situation in the world of *waka*:

"The government is one. The Emperor is one and the same, but governors and officials are many. Yet they belong to the government, and for us they are the government."

What is interesting in this spontaneous analogy is not the personalization of the *ayanas* and *waka* by comparing them to human office-holders in a political system, but rather the copulas by which the relationship between unity and multiplicity may be expressed. *Waka* as a being

⁷ e.g., *D a m f a* and *K a s a l B e r e*, two of the most important *ayanas* belonging to the famous *Fayisa Nika*; *O f a* who is associated with *Abba Çaffe*, a famous *kallu* from *Wollega*, etc..

is one. The quality of *waka* is one. The *ayanas* are many but they all belong to *waka* as beings, and are all *waka* in their quality. The *ayana* to whom a person turns in prayer and rite is Divinity for that person at that moment. With such premises there are no important logical obstacles to the division of Divinity into many *ayanas*.

During my field work it was impossible to investigate systematically how a *kallu* experiences an *ayana* and possession by an *ayana*. I can, therefore, only recount my impressions which are based on observation and the few personal testimonies given me. Obviously it is difficult, if not impossible, to determine the value of such sporadic testimony. In the first place, there were only two *kallus*, a clan *kallu* and a less important *kallu*, with whom my relations became sufficiently confidential for them to at all consider broaching the subject. That they did venture to discuss this delicate, and for them evidently dangerous, matter, is, however, no proof that they really spoke of their actual experiences, although I have several reasons for thinking so. In regard to my most valuable informant, the clan *kallu* of the Sullo clan, my confidence in his 'introspective' information is supported by the absolute reliability and frankness that characterized the other information he supplied which I could check. On an essential point I believe I can accept their statements without reservation; that is, when they asserted that possession is an actual experience. My conviction is based partly on observations, but primarily on the fact that, well knowing my interest in studying their institution and seeking to discover the significance of their actions, they tried to create the best possible conditions for my observing and registering their activity. On several occasions this forced them to incur risks by breaking important rules of etiquette for intercourse with the *ayana*. After possessions when we discussed the *ayana*, their answers to my questions were always the same,

"I have never seen the *ayana*. I know only that it exists and that it comes to me, that it governs me, and that if I left it, I would die."—"I do not know when it descends, I do not remember anything about it. I remember only that I felt very tired and heavy, and when I look around again, they tell me that the *ayana* has been there. Afterwards I am very tired. My head aches. That is all I can say."

The Sullo *kallu* was the first in his neighbourhood to build a new *galma* with a tin roof. Other *kallus* later followed his example and used the same roofing material. At first there was anxious opposition. People wondered if the *ayana* would now be able to descend. The *kallu's* use of the new material shows that he did not conceive of the *ayana* as one to be deterred

by a tin roof or in principle hostile to such a technical change. A similar 'abstract' attitude was expressed in his comments on the many purity requirements.

"There must be rules. Otherwise people would come in any condition. And the ayana does not like that. But the only thing that really matters is that one has a pure mind (a pure stomach)."

Naturally I do not wish to maintain that his viewpoints should be regarded as representative of all Macha. Probably he expresses the view of the ritual specialist, whose image of suprahuman reality has become more sophisticated than that of 'ordinary people'. It would, however, be wrong to think of him and other kallus as isolated and relatively exceptional 'philosophers'. 'Abstract'⁸ and 'immaterialistic' ideas are not uncommon in Macha's conception of reality. They are, however, not easily registered because they form a sort of second layer of representations underlying the actions of the rites, the practical commandments of the taboos, and the concrete forms of the suprahuman symbols.

What I have said so far in the discussion of Macha dual reality and in the description of the kallu and his ayana forms a general conceptional pattern which may be summarized in the following way: Divinity is one but at the same time manifold; Divinity itself is abstract and far removed from the human world, but divinities are near and manifest, and Man can interact with them by means of concrete division-transcending actions. Such a conceptualization obviously differs from traditional Western theological thought. This is no reason, however, to judge the Macha pattern of representation as logically inconsistent. Their ideas of Divinity and divinities, like other people's conceptions of suprahuman power, cannot be studied as 'metaphysical objects'. In his book on the Dinka's religion, Lienhardt has given an excellent formulation of this view. On this very point his observations are valid far beyond the reality of the Dinka:

... "Divinity as a unity, and Divinity as a multiplicity, are not the products of logical or mystical elaboration of a revealed truth as are our own theological considerations of similar apprehensions. Divinity is manifold as human experience is manifold and of a manifold world. Divinity is one as the self's manifold experience is united and brought into relation in the experiencing self. The Powers are distinct from each other, and from Divinity, as the experiences

⁸ I do not mean abstract in a Western philosophical sense, but in the Macha sense of being "like air," "like smoke," "like the shadow," or "of a nature that we do not understand."

they image are distinct from each other and from the total experience of the world and the self."⁹

III. THE KALLU'S RITUAL HOUSE

In all the Galla regions, *galma* is the common word for ritual house. In Macha today the word stands for the kallu's ritual house. Usually a kallu has two *galmas*, one for the female *ayana* and one for the male.

In its basic form the shrine is of the same type as the traditional dwelling in Macha. Because of its ritual function certain elements have been emphasized and some new elements introduced.

The space between the roof pillars and the outer wall forms a kind of outer waiting-room. Here some of the participants remain during the ceremony, especially those who for various reasons are afraid to enter the *galma*, or who because of a ritual impurity must stay outside.

The partition wall (4), which in 'profane houses' separates the interior of the house from the entrance area, is enlarged in the *galma* and supplemented with draperies on both sides. The outer section (2) thus created serves as a 'sluice' to the interior. If the ceremony has begun, latecomers wait here until they can enter the shrine itself during a suitable pause in the ritual.

At the back of the house there are spaces corresponding to the kitchen and storage areas of the ordinary house. Here wood for the fire and ritual instruments are kept. The ashes from the hearth are emptied here. The offering of ritual porridge to the *ayana abba* during the nocturnal ceremonies and on other occasions is also made in this area (14).

The centre of the shrine is dominated by the prayer and confession place at the *furda* (6) and by the hearth where the two pots for preparing the

⁹ Lienhardt, 1961, p. 156. Lienhardt was not the first to realize that the problem multiplicity—unity in this connection derives from culturally biased premises. A similar problem has been vehemently discussed in anthropology and the science of religion during earlier periods. The question was then one of describing and understanding a non-western 'manifold' concept of the 'soul'. Here too the tendency to regard the 'soul' as an 'object' has had devastating consequences. In his article of 1930 M. Pn. Nilsson indicated essentially the same method for solving the problem that Lienhardt used 30 years later.

"Ein wirklicher Begriff von der Seele existiert nicht bei den Primitiven. Was existiert ist ein Bündel von Assoziationen, die an einem gegebenen Punkt ansetzen und dadurch bestimmt werden ... Es existiert ferner nicht nur ein Assoziationsbündel, sondern eine Vielheit von solchen, weil es eine Vielheit von Ausgangspunkten gibt." (M. Pn. Nilsson, Lund 1930, p. 37.)

PLAN OF GALMA

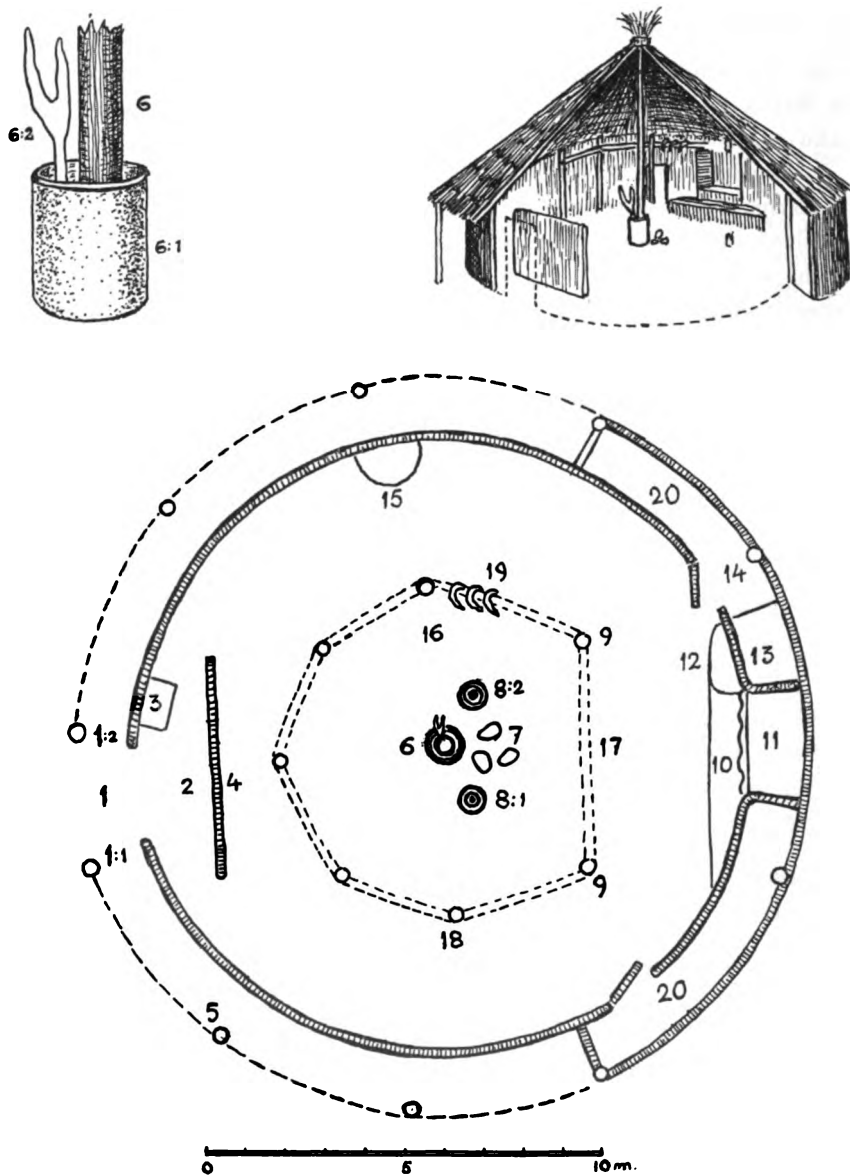


Fig. 5

The plan of the galma

1. The doorway, *balbala galma*. The threshold is called *iddo afura*—the place of the last breath. At 1:1 the kallu sacrifices the bull to the *ayana abba* at the yearly *kello* feast. At 1:2 members of the kallu clan sacrifice.
2. *Gindila*, 'vestibule'.
3. Place where visitors leave *irresa*—the green branches of *urgesa* and *miesa* (euclea kellau) which they offer to *ayana*.
4. *Gorro*, protective wall separating the interior of the *galma* from the vestibule and door.
5. *Utuba*, roof pillars.
6. *Furda*, (literally the thick one) the central pillar where prayers are said and public confessions are made.
- 6:1. A tube of dried clay enclosing the foot of the *furda*.
- 6:2. *Gofa furda*, the horn of *furda*, wood in the form of a horn on which the person addressing the *ayana* places his right hand.
7. *Sunsuma galma*, the hearth consisting of three stones. It is also called *iddo ebida*, the common term for hearth. The ashes from the fire are never taken out of the *galma* but are put in the storage area (20).
8. *Jalo bita* and *jalo mirga*, the left and the right pot for the ritual porridge. The porridge is prepared by the *kallitti*.
9. *Utuba gordoda*, pillars between which the drummers are assembled when accompanying the antiphonal singing with the kallu.
10. *Ejeta*, a high bench on which the kallu sits during most of a 12-hour *dallaga*.
11. *Madabi ayana*, the *ayana*'s bench on which the kallu sits with his feet resting on *ejeta* when he is to be possessed by the *ayana*. At this time a curtain is drawn across in front of his seat.
12. Place where the kallu, his family, and senior clan members offer *irresa*.
13. *Gofa jauwe*, the python's place. The snake of the *ayana* is kept and fed here.
14. Space in which *utuba nabi*, the pillar of the *ayana abba*, stands. Here offerings of meat, blood, and beer are made at the *ayana abba* sacrifice and on various other occasions.
15. Place where visitors put *irresa*.
16. Position of the drummers before and during the offering of the porridge 8:1 and 8:2.
17. Position of the drummers during the antiphonal singing with the kallu.
18. Pillars supporting the roof.
19. *Mangaga tarre*, the row of jaws. Roof beams on which are hung the jawbones of slaughtered sacrificial animals.
20. Storeroom.

sacrificial porridge stand (7, 8). Around these elements the participants gather in a semi-circle open toward the kallu's place (10). This consists of a lower and a higher bench. The kallu sits on the lower (10) during the greater part of the ceremony. He moves to the higher (11) when the moment for the ayana's descent approaches, and remains seated there during the possession and afterwards as long as the ayana is still considered to be with him. During this climax a curtain is drawn in front of his place so that he cannot be seen by the participants in the ritual.

Immediately behind the ayana's bench is the space (13) where the ayana's python lies, or is believed to lie, coiled ready to attack anyone who breaks the rules of the *galma*. Only women who have reached their menopause may touch the ayana's bench. Over the beams that connect the upper parts of the roof pillars hang the jawbones of all the animals slaughtered at the threshold (1) and offered inside the *galma*.

The picture I have drawn here should be regarded as a general sketch of the kallu's *galma*. The kallu institution has many markedly individualistic features and many variations occur. There are differences in the shape of the kallu's bench, which according to his conception of his position can be constructed as a separate and elevated throne or as a simple modification of an ordinary bench.

Most of the shrines have traditional grass roofs. As I have already mentioned, tin roofs do occur, however. In some cases the traditional circular shape of the house has been abandoned in favour of a polygonal form.

The kallu's unique ritual position is not only expressed in his ritual house, it is also demonstrated by the compound in which he lives. The fence around it is high and well kept. It is frequently decorated with green boughs put into it by passers-by as a sign of their respect for the kallu and his ayana. On both sides of the impressive gate there are huge piles of dried and green *irresa*-branches brought by visitors. There are also similar piles of green and dried leaves in other parts of the compound. In a sheltered place, usually under a *kiltu* or *oda* tree,¹⁰ are so-called *sida*, sacrificial stones, where sacrifice is made to A b d a r i, the genius loci.

IV. KALLU PARAPHERNALIA

The kallu's collection of ritual paraphernalia can be divided into four different groups. One is made up of the common insignia of his rank which are worn constantly. One consists of objects that he uses on ritual occasions

¹⁰ *Ficus brachypoda* and *ficus sycomorus*.

in general independent of their character. Finally there are two categories used alternately depending on whether the ritual is dedicated to the female or the male ayana.

His most important general insignia of office are his bracelets, the *irro*.¹¹ These may be of copper or silver. A kallu can wear both kinds or only the silver rings.

As a rule the silver rings are simple, massive bracelets and are usually worn two on each forearm. The copper bracelets are often twisted in spirals. The kallu wears these bracelets "because they are given by the ayana," "because it pleases the ayana that he wear them" or "because it is a kallu's custom to do so."

The kallu's hair arrangement ought to be listed among the common signs of his rank even if it does not belong in a literal sense to the category of ritual paraphernalia. As he is not supposed to cut his hair, he wears it long, combed so as to stand out from the head and hang down over the ears. Long hair has a special ritual significance everywhere in Ethiopia. Formerly in Macha, for instance, an *irresa gada*, the ritual expert of a ruling gada class, was not permitted to cut his hair during the eight-year period of his office. In other parts of Ethiopia the same is true of wandering beggar monks and of the vagabond semi-Moslem *kalicča*.

The uniform worn by a kallu during all ritual action includes a long, very thick mantle of cotton. This special kind of mantle is called *dirriba nabi* and, according to the myth, was worn by waka when he visited the earth in the shape of N a b i. During the *dallaga* ritual the kallu holds a small tambourine with which he beats the rhythm for the drummers and singers. It is made of a thin skin stretched over a wooden ring, which at the lower edge is trimmed with kauri shells and small brass bells. These bells are also used in other ritual connections; e.g., they are hung around the necks of children to protect them against the evil eye. By shaking his tambourine the kallu also indicates when he is being possessed by the ayana.

In the cult of the female ayana the kallu, immediately before the possession, puts on a thick mantle-like coat, the *kollo*, described as the ayana's dress. It is dyed deep red and black but, according to reports, can differ with different kallus. On these occasions the wife of the kallu wears over her right shoulder a broad, leather band approximately five feet long, richly ornamented with kauri shells and trimmed at the lower edge with brass bells. This is *čaču*, the chief female ritual symbol among the Macha

¹¹ The ivory rings which a successful big game hunter is permitted to wear on his overarm are designated by the same word.

and also among the Tulama Galla. It belongs mainly to the cult of *A t e t e*, the traditional female *ayana* who is associated with procreation, fertility, and birth and who is, therefore, also called *ayo umtu* (the mother of procreation). When the moment for *M a r a m*'s arrival approaches, the *kallitti* hangs the *čaṣu* over the *kallu*'s left shoulder.

In the cult of the male *ayana*, male paraphernalia correspondingly emphasize the masculine character. The *kallu* officiates in the dress of a warrior and wears a lion's mane on his head. During the possession he holds his war spear, *warana akakayu*, inherited from his ancestors, in his hand and shakes it during the climax of the possession like a warrior preparing to throw his spear.

The spear has its own rather complicated symbolism. The spearhead has a distinctly phallic character to which *Macha* refer consciously. This is indicated in the custom that ritual experts and others wishing to demonstrate their ritual purity may not touch the (female) earth with the spearhead. In the interpretation of dreams, which *kallu*s and *ragas* practice frequently, the spearhead and also the spear as a whole have the same symbolic significance. If a man in a dream throws his spear through a doorway, this means that he will make a wealthy marriage.¹² If a spear is thrown towards him, he may be advised to become reconciled with his wife, etc. .

The spear and spearhead are not only sexual symbols. They also stand for strength, violence, killing, and crime. In short, they represent for *Macha* what is called *wan hama*, harshness, cruelty, and crime. The end of the shaft has the opposite symbolical character. It is called the 'pure' part of the spear, and its iron tip, *jinfu*, stands for the kind of life that rewards those who adhere to the customs. A judicial decision or an oath is marked by striking the earth with the *jinfu* of one's spear.

In summary one can say that the spearhead represents sexual force and physical power and the dangers when these forces are not controlled. In contrast, the *jinfu* symbolizes the controlled, the accepted, that which is the foundation for an ordered human life. In many respects it approaches the meaning 'that which is institutionalized'. Thus *jinfu kallu* means the basic rules and elements in the *kallu*'s institution without which it would not be 'complete'.

The *kallu* also possesses a *kalača*, the most respected of all ritual objects not only among the *Macha* but among all Galla. Among the *Borana* and

¹² The addition of the positive word wealthy is made according to the rule: interpret a dream as a good omen and it will bring good things.

Guji in the south it consists of a phallic ornament worn on the forehead by certain officials in the gada system and by the foremost ritual experts of the tribe. Unfortunately, I was never allowed to see a *kalača* in Macha, but, according to the descriptions that I obtained, it differs somewhat from that of the southern Galla. It is described as a conically formed 'lump' of black iron, and is made only by special *tumtu*, blacksmiths, who are believed to use metal brought from heaven by the lightning.

Whoever has the right to own a *kalača* orders one from an expert blacksmith. When it is ready, he must build a new house and sacrifice a bull and a cow. Only then may he take the *kalača* into the new house and keep it there. Twice a year at the sacrifices to the *ayana abba* it is taken out into the sun. It is placed on a special chair from which its owner, dressed in a *dirriba nabi*, lifts it up and holds it in his arms, after first gargling with water containing leaves of *ebiča* (*vernonia amigdalina*).¹³ On these occasions the *tumtu* must also attend.

According to the myth, which has many similarities to the Old Testament story of Abraham and Isaac, both the *kalača* and the *čaču* once came from heaven.

"There once lived among the Oromo a man who had two wives. One of the wives bore him many sons but the other gave life to only one son. This son was given the name of Malima. When this boy was still young there came a severe drought. Everything withered and died. Nothing helped against this drought. Sheep, goats, cows, and bulls were sacrificed. But nothing helped. Then the elders gathered together and decided to sacrifice a human being. They decided to sacrifice a boy. When they had decided this, they went to ask fathers and mothers for a child. But all turned away and said oh no, not my son. At last they came to the man with the two wives. He listened to their prayer and decided to give them a son. But when the elders then went to the wife with the many sons, she gave the same answer as the others: 'Oh, I cannot give any of my sons. I cannot do without one of them.' Then they turned to the wife who had only one son. And she considered their prayer and offered them her son. Then they began to prepare the sacrifice carefully. But at the very moment that they put the sacrificial knife to the boy's throat, a lamb came from heaven and on its back the lamb bore *čaču* and *kalača*. And there came a rain which lasted a long time. And the boy lived and grew up and became a wise man and his descendants still live today. They are still today called *malima* and are held in respect by all people, and they still have a special power to make rain and cause it to cease."

The *kalača* plays an important role in adoptions and reconciliations

¹³ This plant is used frequently in various ritual connections. For example, it is used as a purgative and to clean the pots in which honey wine and beer are made.

after manslaughter. The *kalača* of a *kallu* or a *gula* is brought by the party asking permission to adopt a child or to have the reconciliation ritual *guma* performed. Such requests, when made before a *kalača*, may not be refused.

V. THE DALLAGA RITUAL

The *kallu* ceremony is designated by the word *dallaga*. The root of this word has the meaning of work in general. In the compound *ayana dallagu* it means to work for the *ayana*; i.e., to perform the ritual for the *ayana*. In this ritual sense it usually implies ceremonial activity characterized by dance and ecstatic behaviour. Besides the *kallu* rituals, the ceremonies performed by women for *A t e t e* are also called *dallaga*.

Another term used in connection with the cult of the *ayana* is *ayana gabaru*, to 'give to' or 'offer to' the *ayana*. The term *wadadja* also occurs sporadically in Macha.¹⁴

A *dallaga* usually takes place on two consecutive nights at intervals of two weeks or one month. The first of the nocturnal ceremonies is dedicated to the female *ayana*, the second to the male. During the afternoon and evening the participants in a *dallaga* come to the *kallu*'s compound carrying *irresa*, the sacrificial green branches. Before the ceremony begins at dusk, they gather around the *galma*. When the *kallu* appears, he is greeted with deep bows and his feet are kissed. While they wait, certain visitors are invited to his house where they are offered beer, honey wine and food. This is repeated in the pauses of the ceremony during the rest of the night.

The ceremony opens with singing to the *ayana* (appendix I). The *kallu* sits on the lower bench, with the protective curtain drawn back. The floor of the *galma* is covered with dry grass and fresh green leaves. Two of the *kallu*'s junior wives or female servants under the supervision of *kallitti* prepare the sacrificial porridge in the two pots over the fire. The song to the *ayana* is led by the *kallu* while the drummers, who are placed in front of the *kallu*, and the other participants join in the refrain. Constantly repeated the introductory songs continue for approximately an hour, occasionally interrupted by periods of rhythmic panting called *sufa* (to

¹⁴ In older descriptions of Galla religious life the term *wadadja* occupies an important place. It has a general meaning of ritual within a local group. In spite of the many accounts its special significance remains quite obscure (cf. Krapf 1860, p. 83; de Salviao 1901, p. 137 f.; Cerulli 1922, pp. 136 ff.; Azais 1926, pp. 115 ff.).

smell, sniff) in which the drummers and the most active of the congregation take part. After this song the drummers turn towards the fire, and a prolonged antiphonal invocation of the boiling porridge begins led by one of the drummers or by one of the kallu's assistants. During this song two of the kallu's *salgano*¹⁵ perform a rite called *torbi sagadu* (*torba*—seven; *sagadu*—to worship). Carrying bunches of dried grass in their hands, they move slowly seven times in opposite directions around the fire. When the procession has ended, the grass is divided into four bundles, two short and two long. One of the *salgano* takes the two longer bundles and the other the two shorter. With his grass each one touches the pots containing the sacred porridge three times in prayer, after which they kiss the grass. The same procedure is then repeated with the hearthstones.

By this time two or three hours have passed. The smoke of the fire has begun to fill the galma and the air is hot and heavy. The kallu now leaves the lower bench and proceeds to the *furda*, grasping the 'horn of petition' with his right hand and beginning a long prayer for peace in the country, welfare and health, good harvest and protection for the cattle (appendix II). Immediately after this prayer, ending with the women's shouting their *ililili* for joy, the kallu again takes his place on the bench from which he leads a new antiphonal song to the ayana (appendix III). When the song has ended, some other participating kallu or a senior member of the group of assistants comes forward to the central pillar to say a prayer similar in form to that of the host-kallu's. At this point in the ceremony the public confessions are also made. The confessant also grasps the horn of petition while addressing the ayana. The participants in the ceremony listen to the confessions sitting. Quite often the confessant receives encouraging and consoling comments from the public. If anyone takes too long, he is interrupted by the drummers who begin a new song of praise to the ayana. During each of the dozen *dallagas* I have attended, there have been from three to five public confessions.¹⁶

After the confessions the singing and dancing become more and more frenzied. *Sufa*—the exalted inhalation of air, which at this time of the night contains large quantities of smoke—occurs more and more often. The ceremony has now gone on until midnight or somewhat thereafter. Now and again one of the participants is possessed. These possessions are often very violent. The possessed throws himself (or herself) about

¹⁵ This word is derived from *sagal* (nine) and designates the group of seven or nine ritual assistants to the kallu.

¹⁶ Examples of types of confession are given in appendix IV.

furiously, letting out loud shrieks or dashing frantically around the fire. When possession seizes a participant in this way, the drummers surround the possessed and increase his state of exaltation by intensifying the drumming. When the possessed finally falls unconscious to the floor, the *kallu* intervenes to discover by whom he or she has been possessed and to persuade the possessing agent to leave its victim. These spontaneous possessions are regarded by the *kallu* and the participants in the ceremony as negative and destructive, and the possessing agent is usually believed to be a *setana* or *zar*, who brings illness and suffering. On these occasions the *kallu* acts as exorcist and tries with the help of his *ayana* to identify the malevolent 'spirit' and to relieve the victim of his tormentor.¹⁷

After these interruptions of the ceremony, the songs led by the *kallu* from the *ejeta* (appendix VI) are resumed. Towards morning the mood of exaltation increases and the songs become more and more monotonous and repetitious. The *kallu* puts on his *kollo*, the thick red cloak reaching down to his feet, and seizes the small tambourine decorated with bells and *kauri* shells whose rattling and tinkling when it is shaken will indicate that the possession has begun. If the ceremony is held for *M a r a m* or another female *ayana*, he hangs *çaçu*, the female ritual symbol, over his left shoulder. If the ceremony is for the male *ayana*, he grasps his *warana akakayu*, his forefathers' spear, before he seats himself on the bench of the *ayana*. The curtain is drawn and the singing grows more and more frenzied. Suddenly a shriek is heard and the crowd becomes still and silent. The *ayana* has descended. Those who have earlier made confessions or special petitions now present their prayers for answers and help. The answers are given by the *kallu* in a disguised voice, sometimes fully audible and sometimes unintelligible. Grunts and disconnected shrieks punctuate the entire conversation, during which he shakes his bell-trimmed tambourine. At the same time general prayers are addressed to the *ayana* led by a *gula*, another *kallu* who is present, or by one of the *kallu*'s assistants. The constant theme of this exchange between the participants in the ceremony and the *ayana* is reconciliation and peace.

When the *kallu* does not give intelligible answers during the possession, those assisting him endeavour to interpret the sounds he makes. In the case of the clan *kallu* whom I myself have seen or about whom I have reliable information, the manifestations of possession tend to be moderate. After the introductory signs of the *ayana*'s descent the continuation of

¹⁷ An example of exorcism is given in appendix V.

the possession is only ritually indicated, and the kallu speaks perfectly intelligible words, uttering more inarticulate sounds again only when the possession is ending. It is not my purpose to try to explain what the possession actually is. Nor can I in any satisfactory way determine whether the psychological state, which in Macha's opinion characterizes a possession, lasts during the whole time that the participants in the ceremony consider the kallu to be possessed. The important thing is that the kallu is believed to speak with the ayana's voice, whether the possession is indicated by violent shrieks and ecstatic movements or in a ritualistic, symbolic manner. In the latter case we can perhaps speak of a kind of Macha 'ex cathedra' theory, according to which everything said by the kallu, in trance or not, is considered to be the words of the ayana, provided that all the ritual formalities have been fulfilled and that the ayana has given the accepted proofs of its presence.

Towards the end of the possession, children are brought to the kallu for *hamačisa*, the name-giving ritual in which the ayana is asked to give a name to the child or to approve the one already given by the parents. Still formally possessed, the kallu lifts the child, embraces it, and blesses it in the name of the ayana.

When the possession has ended, the curtain is drawn aside and the ceremony concludes with renewed songs of thanksgiving to the ayana led by the kallu.

THE KALLU IN SOCIETY

I. INTRODUCTION

Heretofore I have been discussing the position of the kallu in the system of ritual communication. But there are also elements or aspects of the kallu institution that can be called extra-ritual. I use this term to designate those elements which do not solely, or in the first instance, belong to his role as an expert on ritual technique. But, at the same time, what I call extra-ritual elements should not be regarded as independent of the ritual system on which the kallu bases his position. In fact, his ritual system of action is also the prerequisite for most of his extra-ritual functions.

The latter do not constitute any uniform category. This is a quite natural consequence of the institution's multidimensional character. Because it is difficult to make any analytical differentiation, I have chosen to use the different social contexts in which the extra-ritual elements appear as the starting-point for the disposition of my survey. Through this approach the discussion can be divided into five parts: the kallu and his household, the kallu and the structure of descent groups, the kallu and his followers, the kallu and other kallus, and finally the kallu and the Macha system of justice.

II. THE KALLU AND HIS HOUSEHOLD

The kallu's family and household reflect his position as kallu in different ways. His economic status enables him to have large polygynous families. All the clan kallus I came in contact with or received reliable information about had three wives or more. The female kallus, among whom there were no clan kallus, were either widowed or divorced. It is common, if not the rule, for a kallu to have one or several wives in the places where he has 'branches' of his ritual institution. When he circulates among these branches at fixed intervals to perform the *dallaga* rituals, he also moves between the wives or groups of wives.

Irrespective of their number, one has a senior position. This position is held by the first wife with whom the kallu has contracted a marriage with a full observance of all the traditional ritual forms. She can also have acquired her status by succeeding a deceased first wife. The senior wife is addressed by the feminine form of the technonymy by which her husband is known. If he has been given the name Abba Jobir, the father of Jobir, his senior wife is called Haḍa Jobir, the mother of Jobir. She is also referred to as *kallitti*. As I have previously mentioned, this does not imply that she herself has any specific kallu function.

In principle, a new clan kallu is recruited from among a *kallitti*'s sons. There are, however, no fixed rules on this point, and the kalluship can obviously be transferred also to another of the kallu's children. In such a case, the position of senior clan kallu is held by the kallu who is considered the genealogically senior by virtue of his age and his mother's position in his father's polygynous family.

Like the kallu, the *kallitti* has to respect the purity rules and the food taboos described earlier. During her periods of menstruation and at child-birth she must either move out of the kallu's compound or, if her family lives nearby, go home to her parents. Her social intercourse, however, is not as strictly limited as that of her husband.

A kallu's other wives also assist in the ceremonies either by tending the ritual fire, preparing the offerings of porridge, or by carrying out other duties. Within the kallu's household they are bound by the rules in force there. Outside it they are free, unless they prefer of their own will to observe the different taboos.

Apart from his wives and children there are usually a large number of servants in a kallu's household. These are either freed 'slaves' or descendants of 'slaves' who have chosen to stay. They often regard themselves and are treated as members of the family. Other servants included in the household are those who have come to 'serve the ayana'. It is mainly sickness, but may be other personal problems as well (for example, severe conflicts between them and their parents) which has driven them to the kallu and his ayana. In daily life they act as ordinary servants and during the ceremonies they constitute part of the active core of the participants. Many of them remain in contact with their original families to whom they return when they have found some solution to their problems. Others move back and forth between the home milieu and the kallu and in this way keep an otherwise troublesome personal situation under control. There is a certain amount of information indicating that new kallus can

emerge from this group of servant-clients. These new kallus then either return to their home districts and there establish themselves as intermediaries of the original kallu's *ayanas* and their power, or stay on as special ritual assistants to the kallu they have formerly served.

III. THE KALLU AND THE CLAN

It is apparent that today the dispersed clans of eastern Macha have only a ritually corporate character centred in the kallu and his institution. Indirectly, the kallu's position as ritual clan head has come to receive a genealogical legitimation whereby the clan kallu is considered the clan's *angaffa*, the eldest or genealogically senior in general.

This genealogical legitimation of his position is of great importance. It means, among other things, that just as a family's *ayana abba* is considered common to the whole *warra*, the minimal patrilineal lineage, the *ayana abba* of the clan kallu is considered to be the guardian divinity of his entire clan. Because the boundaries between a kallu's *ayanas* are faintly marked, the traditional relation of clan members to the whole clan's ancestral divinity becomes, at the same time, a link with the kallu's *ayanas* in general and thus with his entire institution. His roles as senior clan member and the person who maintains contact with the clan's *ayana abba* give a chief kallu an undisputed position as the clan's ritual leader, whatever individual attitudes the clan members may have towards the ecstatic ritual technique characterizing his activity.

The kallu's position as the ritual clan head receives one of its most formalized expressions in the rules concerning name-giving in the so-called *hamačisa* ritual. At the same time these rules, as they are practised in Macha today, demonstrate the limited importance of the clan as the social basis for the kallu's leadership.

To undergo *hamačisa*, a child between 2-4 years of age, whether it has already been given an Orthodox baptism or not, is first taken to its father's senior clan kallu and then to the kallu of its paternal grandmother's patri-clan. After the ritual has been completed by these two, it is taken for the same purpose to the kallu of its mother's and of its maternal grandmother's patri-clans.

Although the position of one's patri-clan's kallu is emphasized by these rules, the mutual order between the clans, and thereby the clan kallus to whom an individual becomes related through the *hamačisa* practice,

does not correspond to a system of exclusive patrilineal descent. In its present form the custom should rather be interpreted as part of a strategy to create relations binding as many individuals as possible to the kallu.

IV. THE WOREGA-SYSTEM

The communication between Man and a kallu's ayana depends upon two presumptions. One derives from the Macha theory about the ayana's zeal for the traditional way of life and the rules governing it. The ayana knows of the deeds and misdeeds of men. It also has the power to punish men for their crimes against *duga* even after several generations. But the ayana is not merely a guardian of tradition. It can also advise men in new and unknown situations. It can tell them how to avoid difficulties or show them a way out.

It is against the background of these general presumptions that the Macha method for creating direct personal contact with an ayana through a system of ritual contract with a kallu must be seen. As an instrument for establishing contact between Man and Divinity this method is different in character from the general observance of traditional ritual rules or the participation in the *dallaga* cult. In comparison with these, it is more directly devised to attain a rapid and efficient reconciliation with an ayana and thereby to receive a solution to some specific problem. Employing a Macha term I propose to call it the *worega*-system. The verb *woregu* means to promise, especially, to make a vow. As a noun it has the meaning of 'votivus'. As a ritual system *worega* contains three important elements: a public confession, a vow, and a votive gift. The public confession is made in the *galma* during a *dallaga* ritual. It is directed to the ayana and describes the kind of problems one wishes to solve. At a later point in the ritual when the kallu is possessed, the vow is pronounced. By making such a vow the confessant enters into a contract with the ayana, implying that he will make a gift, *galča*,¹ to the ayana when his question has been answered or his problem solved. The *galča* can be an animal to be sacrificed to the ayana if one is particularly anxious for its reply and help. More common are the salt bars which have become a kind of standard currency in the *worega* system. If the votive offering is an animal, it is slaughtered for the ayana in the *galma*. Whatever is not eaten during the ritual, and also the salt bars or other types of *galča* not used during the ceremony, go to the kallu.

¹ The verb *gallu* means to return; *galču*—to give back, replace.

The formal vows are considered to be absolutely binding and the Macha can imagine no worse crime than not giving the gift promised. Whoever is guilty of such a crime must be prepared for the curse of the kallu and the vengeance of the ayana.

Through the *worega* system a contractual relation is created between a kallu and one of his ritual clients. In the case of particularly famous kallus the contract can be made binding over great distances. In such cases the duties inherent in a *worega*-contract can be handled by intermediaries. Should an intermediary be responsible for a breach of contract, the consequences are thought to affect him, while the original giver of the promise does not risk any punishment.

The ayana's explanation of the difficulties laid before the kallu in the confession follows a certain general pattern. To establish whether any serious crime has been committed by the person confessing, the kallu or someone closely connected with him uses a method of cross-examination. If a *čubu* can be identified in this way, the kallu can immediately impose some act of ritual penance. If he is unable to isolate the cause of the trouble, the case is referred to the ayana during the possession. Irrespective of whether the decision is made by the kallu when he is in trance or not, the problems brought to him are generally explained as resulting from breaches of customary rules. The confessant is told that there has been some breach of the principles of exogamy, that the conventional respect towards parents has not been observed, that important rites have been neglected, or that the correct relation between Man and Divinity has been disturbed in some other serious way. This way of explaining sickness, crop failure, childlessness, accidents, and other problems together with the indirect method of dealing with them are typical of the kallu institution. The kallu is not a 'magician' or a 'medicine-man' in the sense of knowing directly effective remedies. He regards sickness as a consequence of *čubu* and, therefore, the healing of sickness must begin with the restoration of *čuga* through the reconciliation of Man with Divinity.

In some cases the kallu places responsibility for the problems on the ayana of other kallus and orders that they be appeased. This is particularly the case in instances where an unsatisfactory state of affairs in the family or a breach of the rules of exogamy is thought to be at the root of the trouble. It is then the *ayana abba* which has been offended or the peace of *J a r i* which has been disturbed.

In this way the ayanas of a kallu are believed to be loyal to other divinities. The kallus are also mutually loyal in respect to the observance of

the *worega* system's rules. If a man who has entered into such a ritual contract with a *kallu* breaks it and then attempts to consult another *kallu*, the latter, if he knows of the earlier vow, will refer the man back to the first *kallu*. He will also admonish the breaker of the promise to respect *worega*. So strong are its obligations that they do not even terminate with death, but are taken over by the heir of the person who has made the promise.

In addition to tribute given by *worega* clients, the *kallu* often receives gifts of animals, salt bars, money, or material for the upkeep of the *galma* or the rebuilding of his or other houses. The *kallu* may dispose of these gifts at his own discretion. In the same way he can use the services for the *ayana* that are often proffered. These gifts or services are not accompanied by vows, nor is there any specification of problems to be solved. They are to be regarded as a kind of insurance payment by means of which the *ayanas* can be prevailed upon to show benevolence and lend their support.

It is undeniable that a *kallu* can exert pressure on the people around him in order to obtain gifts. But in the case of the clan *kallu*s this must be considered exceptional. There is a general code among them, which is valid, moreover, for every *kallu* jealous of his reputation, not to ask for any recompense from those who seek their help, but merely to accept whatever is offered them. Among lesser *kallu*s and the socially non-integrated *kalličča*, where the economic interest tends to be greater, attempts at blackmail, using the threat of the *ayana*'s anger, are quite common. Although such tendencies can be observed in eastern Macha, they are counteracted by the fact that the great clan *kallu*s provide many of their ritual services without any fixed remuneration.

V. THE SYSTEM OF BRANCH GALMAS

As I have already stated, every clan has its chief *kallu*. The *kallu*'s bond with the clan does not, however, provide the whole answer to the question of what constitutes a *kallu*'s social 'base'. The clan, as indicated above, is to a greater or lesser degree delocalized. For the recruitment of a *kallu*'s 'followers', the local group within which a *kallu* lives is, therefore, more important than any descent group. The genealogical bonds to one's clan *kallu*, the fact that his *ayana* functions as the entire clan's *ayana abba*, and the occurrence of certain prescribed ritual contacts with him render it desirable, however, for members of a clan to have access

to their chief *kallu*'s ritual service. At the same time it is naturally in the interest of a *kallu* to preserve and, if possible, strengthen relations with members of his *gosa*. To resolve the problems of contact created by the clan's delocalized character, the *kallu* institution has developed two types of expedient. One is that each of the larger local groups of the same clan has its own *kallu*, who is loyal to the chief *kallu* either because of kinship or because the latter has given him his *ayanas* and recognized him as a *kallu*.

The other is the establishment by the clan *kallu* of branch *galmas*. This can be done both on patrilineally inherited land and on land which the *kallu* has acquired affinally. Of the ten leading *kallus* in the Abebe, Dada, Sullo, and Gamo clans, there were eight who had from one to four branch *galmas* apart from their main shrine, while two had only one. Of the total fourteen branches controlled by these ten *kallus*, four lay on land that had been acquired through marriage during the last two generations, while eight were situated on patrilineally inherited land. About the remaining two I have no information. In this context it should be noted that the praxis in inheritance and the disposition of land differs considerably in respect to *kallus* and 'ordinary people'. Even if women's right to inherit land is laid down by the present Ethiopian law of inheritance, this is still far from being the rule in Macha. In order to keep a family's land intact, it is preferred not to parcel out a deceased father's estate. Instead every attempt is made to use the land jointly. In this way, any daughter either receives a share of the proceeds or can install sharecroppers on the land corresponding to her share. Division of land usually comes into question first when a woman's husband, in her and his interest, forces a division to be made, or when a woman dies and her heirs demand their inheritance. The indirect or direct transfer of land through affinal relationship is consequently not common in eastern Macha. For a *kallu*, however, it is different. Everything belonging to him is considered to belong also to his *ayana*. Everything at his disposal is likewise at the disposal of the *ayana*. This naturally provides him with numerous opportunities to use affinal connections as well as matrilineal relationships for acquiring new land on which he can establish branches of his institution and thereby promote its expansion. In one case I received a ritual rationalization of such a procedure. The *kallu* in question declared that he had received one of his *ayanas* from his wife and, therefore, had to build a *galma* on her father's land. Naturally, he also took the cult of his other and better known *ayanas* with him.

VI. THE RECRUITMENT OF FOLLOWERS

I have used the term clan kallu to designate the position of the chief kallus in eastern Macha. At the same time, however, I have been careful to avoid identifying the social basis of this institution with the clan or any other descent-recruited group. The information concerning the *worega*-system and the system of affiliated galmas clearly shows the 'structural' disparity of his group of followers and the variety of recruiting strategies that the kallu uses. It seems to me that the best way to define such a kallu group is to make a classification of the different structural categories from which his followers are recruited.

One of the most important of these categories comprises the kallu's own, often large, family and household. The members of this form a sort of active inner circle or nucleus among those participating in the *dallaga*. Another important category from which a significant portion of the kallu's ritually active followers is recruited is made up of local groups of *warra*, patrilineally or even matrilineally and affinally related to the kallu. A third category, the members of which also belong to the ritually active core of the kallu's congregation, includes those who for some reason have come to 'serve the ayana,' and those of his personal servants who are at the same time his ritual assistants. I have selected the kallu's clan as the fourth category. Its local units and those of the kallu's maximal patrilineal lineage are already represented in the first category, with which it therefore partly overlaps. Finally, the system of *worega* contract supplies a fifth important basis for the recruitment of a kallu's followers.

In a few cases, such as participation in *hamačisa* and *kello* rituals, it is clearly indicated which kallu an individual should contact. On the whole, however, individuals are at liberty to choose their favourite kallu. This freedom of choice is the necessary prerequisite for the different strategies by which a kallu recruits followers outside the limits of his descent groups.

VII. ECONOMICS OF THE KALLU INSTITUTION

Another form of extra-ritual function which has already been touched upon is the kallu's role in the economic exchange system centred in his *worega* institution. The votive gifts brought to a kallu constitute an important, contribution to his income. Other substantial forms of 'input' are made up of the formal tributes to the ayana, usually salt bars, paid by those asking the kallu's advice and help without the involvement of a vow according to the *worega* rules. As previously mentioned, there is also

a spontaneous tribute to a *kallu* from those wishing to assure themselves of the *ayana's* goodwill.

For several reasons it was impossible during the various phases of my field work to obtain precise details of the extent and type of the resources placed at a *kallu's* disposal in this way. Nor could I get any idea of the relative importance to his economy of these contributions in comparison to the income he had from his land and his cattle. It would not be rash to assume, however, that the various forms of ritual contribution to a *kallu* are vital to the economic status he and his predecessors have managed to achieve.

It should, however, be pointed out that the flow of 'economic' value is not only in favour of the *kallu*. The gifts, votive offerings, and tributes represent but one side of the exchange system. The other is made up of the obligations he has towards his followers. It is true that a considerable part of his compensation to them consists of different kinds of ritual service, which leaves the *kallu* on the whole with an economic surplus. But in connection with his ritual there are also important obligations of a directly economic nature. For example, he has to bear substantial maintenance costs for his large household and for the numerous guests who are constantly under his roof. A *kallu's* hospitality is boundless. It is not only at the frequent celebration of the *dallaga* that his house is filled with guests taking part in the ceremonies. In between, his courtyard is full of people who seek his advice, or have gathered for court proceedings, or wish to see him for other reasons.

VIII. RELATIONS WITH OTHER KALLUS

A clan *kallu* institution is based on two sociologically distinct types of groups. Although these groups actually often overlap, they can be distinguished on the basis of their essentially different recruiting mechanisms. One of these main types is the clan or the maximal descent group within which the *kallu* is the ritual leader. Membership in these groups is ascribed by descent, and, therefore, a *kallu's* position as clan head can today be said to be an ascribed position, determined by his genealogical seniority in relation to other *kallus* in the same clan.

The other social basis for a *kallu* is that constituted by his 'congregation'—that is, those actively and frequently participating in his *dallaga* rituals and his clients. Here, as already stated, membership is open and the *kallu's* position is to a great extent dependent on the status that he can achieve within this group.

This dual character of the clan kallu's position greatly influences the relations between different kallas. Within the area of clan business there is no scope, or in any case very limited scope, for rivalry between kallas. The rules governing the giving of names and adoption and those for participation in common clan ceremonies are clear and unambiguous.

Even when it concerned the preservation of the *worega* system, which belongs to the non-clan sphere, the kallu I knew showed great mutual loyalty. If someone seeking the help of a kallu had not carried out previous contract obligations to another kallu, he was strongly admonished to do this before being allowed to make another attempt with the new kallu to find a solution to his problems. This attitude was explicitly stated by both kallas and their assistants:

"*Worega* is with the ayana and all kallas respect the ayana. Therefore, *worega* must be complied with. *Galṭa* goes to the ayana. If a kallu knows of a vow, he must guard the ayana's rights."

In respect to relations with clan members and, of course, to a certain extent with *worega* clients, the kallu can be regarded as colleagues in the same branch. It is in all their interests to respect and follow the rules of their profession. At the same time, however, each kallu has his own individual aspirations. What these aspirations are and how they influence his strategies are central but difficult questions.

As leader of an essentially autonomous ritual group, a kallu can choose between different patterns of action in order to assert himself vis-à-vis other kallas and thus strengthen his position. The *worega* system provides a means for this kind of individual advancement; the system of branch *galmas* is another. A third is the kallu's role as arbitrator and judge—to be dealt with later—and a fourth is a ritual specialization of his institution.

Before I go into this fourth possibility some premises must be made clear. As I have already argued in another context, a kallu is considered to be the representative of the ayanas and Divinity and the guardian of *ḍuga* in all its forms. He is expected to represent the Macha ideal of a human being, which stresses the virtues of generosity, humanity, serenity, and loyalty to tradition. Under these circumstances it is unthinkable for him to attempt to strengthen his position by obvious propaganda or by competing for favour in a similarly explicit fashion. Officially, he cannot seek followers. They must seek him. In this situation his personal qualities are of great importance. Knowledge and generosity as well as ability to resolve conflicts are vital qualifications for an influential kallu.

In the same way and probably for the same reasons, there is a lack of direct competition on the ritual level. Instead, emphasis is laid on whatever is peculiar to the individual kallu. This has led to the various kallus' being regarded as specialists in certain important ritual areas. One is renowned for the interpretation of dreams, another for his knowledge of customs, a third for the violence of his possessions, a fourth for his exorcisms and so on. Because of this specialization a person can maintain contacts with several kallus at the same time without this immediately giving rise to any conflicts between them.

There is no hierarchy as such among the different kallus on the clan kallu level. They are all leaders and final authorities in independent and equal institutions. Together these form what one could call a segmentary system of 'factional' organizations. But there is some inconsistency here. The tendency towards ritual or other specialization has led to a number of kallus being regarded, not as more authoritative than others, but perhaps as more effective authorities. Another factor working towards a hierarchical organization among the kallu institutions is to be found in the principle of seniority, according to which certain kallus are respected as the possessors of the original 'ayana Macha'. This is the case with two kallus in particular, the chief kallus of the Abebe and the Sullo clans respectively.²

An interrelationship between two kallus can also be created in cases where an ayana has left an already established kallu. In order to find out why the possessions have ceased, he will consult a powerful senior kallu having the same ayana. If the reason is revealed and the ayana successfully recalled, he will from then on stand in a respect relation to his helper.

A similar situation may arise when an heir is to succeed a deceased kallu. Sometimes the ayana refuses to 'descend', or if it does 'descend', refuses to be identified. In both cases the support of a senior kallu is required. Should the latter succeed in normalizing the relations between the new kallu and his ayana, a relationship of respect on the part of the junior towards the senior kallu is created. Usually such a bond only obliges the junior kallu to visit some of the most important *dallagas* conducted by the senior.

² During recent years several kallus in eastern Macha have been given titles such as *kanasmač* and *grasmač* by the Ethiopian central government (the Emperor). This represents a new phase in the development of the kallu institution and may be viewed as the result of a new strategy pursued both by the individual kallus and by the central government in a situation increasingly marked by Ethiopization in all parts of the country.

IX. THE BIRTH OF A KALLU

The tendency towards an informal pattern of interdependence between formally independent kallu institutions is especially noticeable when a new kallu is 'born'. Such events also shed light on the Macha conception of the kallu role and on the aspirations of those who wish to establish themselves as kallus.

As the starting point for my discussion of this aspect of the kallu institution I should like to quote Leach,

"...I consider it necessary and justifiable to assume that a conscious or unconscious wish to gain power is a very general motive in human affairs. Accordingly I assume that individuals faced with a choice of action will commonly use such choice so as to gain power, that is to say that they will seek recognition as social persons who have power; or to use a different language, they will seek to gain access to office or the esteem of their fellows which may lead them to office."³

The kalluship is one of the most clearly defined offices in the Macha society. The holder of it is, without any doubt, recognized as one of those social persons "who have power." One also finds that people in whose families there have previously been no holders of this office will try to become kallus. On the other hand, there are indications that the emergence of new kallus cannot be interpreted as simply as the 'strategy for power' hypothesis suggests. In the first place, there are rather few people who try to establish themselves as new kallus. Secondly, 'the kallu strategy' is not the first they choose in order to gain the esteem of their fellows. On the contrary, the kallu strategy seems to be adopted only after the other possibilities for advancement offered an individual by the Macha society have been tried. The impression that a person is generally reluctant to become a kallu increases when one investigates the transmitting of the kalluship in established kallu lineages. As already described, resistance by an heir is often considerable and the office of the kallu is frequently left vacant.

In summary it can be said that, although a kalluship provides an effective channel to a position of power in Macha, the individual regards it as a burden. Because of the close contact with the divinities it also represents a danger which does much to reduce the attractiveness of the kallu strategy.

As a rule, a clan kallu pursues a policy of wait-and-see vis-à-vis any new kallu who appears. Only when he is convinced that the claim to kalluship

³ Leach 1954, p. 10.

is well founded can he grant his approval, or, as the Macha prefer to express it, "his blessing to prevent the new kallu from getting into difficulties." This is a euphemistic way of describing the control an established and influential kallu desires to wield over potential rivals. The demand for such authorization by the genealogically senior clan kallu and its forms are institutionalized expressions of the tendency towards hierarchical relations between the different kallus in one and the same clan. This tendency also finds an expression in the requirement that kallus who have received a clan kallu's authorization act as his assistants at the great ceremonies in honour of the clan's *ayana abba* and visit his *dallaga* on other occasions as well.

Besides looking at the 'birth' of a kallu from the point of view of how such an event is handled by the already established kallus, one is tempted to ask if the emergence of new kallus can, in any way, be correlated with some sort of segmentation process. This is a very difficult question to answer. During my field work I was able to observe the 'birth' of only one kallu (see below). The indirect information relevant to the question of segmentation does not provide a uniform picture. I also judge most of the oral traditions concerning the emergence of new kallus to be rather unreliable sources because of the many elements of ritual and mythological stereotypes that they contain.

The emergence of a new kallu can certainly not be linked to any 'pure' form of lineage-segmentation, because he will serve as a new rallying point not only for his close co-descendants but also for his kin and for his local group as well as for other people who for personal reasons transfer to him.

If the term segmentation is to be used at all, it should be in reference to the system of followings that surround a number of kallus in a certain district. The type of this process of segmentation has to be studied further, however, before anything definite can be said concerning its nature.

The case of Kumala Čando

Kumala Čando of the Dada clan was the eldest of five brothers. After his father's death eight years previously, he, as the head of the family, had taken over the responsibility for the biannual sacrifice to the *ayana abba*. During these years he had done everything he could to induce the *ayana abba* to 'descend upon him'. This had not happened, however.⁴

⁴ It should be added that traditionally the *ayana abba* sacrifice has no connection with ecstatic ritual and possession.

He and his brothers had gone to various *kallus* and to the *raga* to find out why the *ayana abba*, despite all his attempts to make direct contact, refused to show itself. During the last visit to a *kallu*, the latter had made Kumala confess to having unjustly cursed one of his brothers. Shortly after he had confessed this curse and ritually revoked it, Kumala had the first intimation of the *ayana's* presence. And so he, his brothers, and their neighbours were fully expectant that the *ayana* would descend during the impending *ayana abba* sacrifice on April 9, 1961.

The ritual began on the evening of April 8 with the offering of *bukuri*, a kind of thick sacrificial beer, in front of one of the houses in the compound which had been converted into a simple *galma*. During the whole of that night the group of brothers who were present with their wives and elder children sang songs in honour of the *ayana abba*. The first short period of possession occurred a few hours before dawn. This was followed by several others during which Kumala, who had placed himself on a bed behind a curtain, let out loud bellows interspersed with babbling sounds. Some of the words were interpreted by the next elder brothers as meaning that the *ayana abba* would accept the animal sacrifice to take place at the rising of the sun.

At sunrise the whole group drank coffee inside the house converted into a *galma*, and then everyone assembled outside. The space in front of the door-opening was covered with *miesa* twigs and a sacrificial fork of *ejirsa* was prepared. After these preparations a young bull was led forward. The next eldest of the brothers held its head while Kumala gripped the tail. Holding freshly picked grass in his right hand, he stroked the animal three times from its nose to the tip of its tail, while rapidly mumbling a prayer for a good harvest, health, children, and peace for the family. After this invocation the bull was thrown down and Kumala slowly cut away the skin of the neck from the lower jaw and backwards until he reached the carotid artery in which he made a little opening. He filled his hands with blood and sprinkled a handful of it on each of the two pillars of the door. He then smeared his forehead with blood. At the same moment he leapt backwards in the grip of violent convulsions and then forwards into the *galma* where the possession reached its climax in the form of loud howls. The animal that had been sacrificed was then cut up and small pieces of various parts of the body were hung on the sacrificial fork and roasted. The roasting of the meat was preceded by an invocation to the *ayana abba* exhorting it to accept the sacrifice. While the animal was being cut up, the next eldest brother carried in raw meat to the possessed Kumala.

The testicles and a strip of the belly skin were cut off and hung round Kumala's neck. Another strip of skin from the belly was bound about his right hand.

When the cutting up of the animal was complete and the meat roasted, the participants went once more into the *galma* and sat down. Kumala had again placed himself behind the curtain. The sacrificial meat was then removed from the sacrificial fork and given to the assembled group. Each of the brothers handed over pieces of the meat to Kumala, while offering prayers of the current stereotyped form for peace, health, harvest, and children. During this phase of the ceremony Kumala, who was still possessed, uttered intelligible phrases. In a distorted voice he asked: "Are you my children?" and was answered "Yes, we are your children." "Is this meat for me?" "Yes, it is for you." When the meal was over, the possession altered character. Kumala and the possessing *ayana* started talking to each other. Kumala addressed his replies to *gofitako* (my master) but towards the end added the address *giftiko* (my lady).⁵

The ceremony itself ended at noon on the second day, and Kumala was left alone in the *galma*. He remained there three days in accordance with the rules of *ulma*, which regulate men's behaviour after the performance of an important ritual action.

Already on the day of the sacrifice his brothers were saying that Kumala was now a *kallu*. During the following days the possession was the predominant topic of discussion among the neighbours and also in the area generally. The gist of all comments was that Kumala either had become a *kallu* or wanted to be a *kallu*.

During the remainder of my first field period Kumala held sporadic *dallagas*. The number of visitors was small, however, probably owing partly to the fact that he lived very near one of the greatest *kallu*s in the Dada clan. He claimed to have two *ayanas*, a male identical with the *ayana abba*, and a female by the name of *Gole*.

At my last contact with Kumala Čando two and a half years after the first possession had taken place, he had, at least for the time being, given up his ambition to be an independent *kallu*. Instead he had become a member of the Dada *kallu*'s advisory and assistant group, (*salgano*).

⁵ There is no doubt that the *ayana abba* is male. From information after the seance Kumala's use of *giftiko* was commented on with the words: "He is trying to be a *kallu*."

X. THE KALLU AND THE SYSTEM OF JUSTICE

Immediately following the incorporation, eastern Macha enjoyed considerable independence in local affairs. The existing local leaders continued to 'rule' their areas with the difference that after the conquest they also served as tax-collectors for the central government. When needed, they, together with their followers or their summoned warriors, took part in the state's war expeditions—for example, the confrontation with the Italians at the battle of Adua—or in campaigns against other areas of the Empire that had remained unconquered or not wholly subdued.

The enormous expansion during the reign of Menelik II was followed by efforts to consolidate the new great Ethiopia. A leading motive in this endeavour on the part of the central government has been the wish to reduce the 'independence' of the various parts of the Empire and to create a strong national state. An important move in this struggle has been the creation of a uniform administrative system built upon a division of the country into provinces, sub-provinces, districts, and sub-districts. This division applies also to the legal organization. At the sub-district and district level the governors themselves act as judges. At the sub-provincial and provincial level the administrative and judicial functions were divided during the post-war period and separate courts set up.

On the local level a combination of the official administration, the various officially recognized representatives of the local population, and the purely local juridical organization has resulted in a 'politico-juridical' system with different types of functionaries.

The central administration is represented, apart from the sub-district's governor, by the latter's secretary and members of the national police force. The sub-district is further divided into several 'balabattships'. *Balabatt* is an hereditary title which, at the incorporation, was conferred on those who were then leaders of larger districts or were taken to be so by the Ethiopian authorities. The position of the *balabatts* was strengthened by the re-distribution of land after the conquest, when large portions of land were given to them. A *balabatt* is answerable to the governor of the sub-district for peace and order within his area and also acts as a judge. Within a *balabatt's* area there is usually at least one *korro*, judge.* These, as a rule, are also hereditary positions and have their origin in the office of the same name during the later periods of independence. Recently, on

* The title of *korro* was used in the Gibe states and may have been introduced into eastern Macha from there.

the initiative of the central administration, a form of people's representatives, the so-called *šani*, has been created. For every balabattship three *šani* are chosen for three years at a time. They constitute a council with the *balabatt* as chairman. They are responsible for order within their area. Likewise they have to report crimes and failure to pay tax. According to instructions, they are also to speak on behalf of the population should the central authority's representatives be guilty of irregularities.

The official administrative and legal system thus contains two levels. One is made up of purely official bodies. The other is composed of those local functionaries who are recognized by the central government, *balabatt*, *korro*, and the members of the *šani* council.

Throughout the entirely local 'system of justice' there is also a division into two part-systems albeit of another kind. One is the local arbitration system, which can be summed up by the Galla-term *jarsa-arara*, reconciliation through elders. The mediators here are mainly men who by reason of their position, knowledge, and personal prestige have been accorded the title of *abba biya*, the father of the land, or *jarsa biya*, the elders. The *gula*, those who have completed the still existing rites of the gada-system, are particularly respected as mediators. The *raga*, who is regarded as one of the most important transmitters of traditional knowledge, is also a much sought-after arbitrator. Furthermore, every adult of good reputation is eligible to be chosen as mediator in minor disputes.

The other local system of justice is centred in the *kallu* institution. A *kallu* can, of course, act as a mediator of the *jarsa arara* type. In principle, however, he has a function different from that of a mere arbitrator. The basic difference lies in the fact that the *kallu* institution is the sole autonomous local institution that, because of its direct contact with the source of justice, can deliver final decisions. It has also its own system of ritual sanctions through which it is able to enforce these decisions.

Before there can be a closer investigation of the types of problems and disputes that are resolved by the various types of legal organization, a general description must be made of the 'legal' procedures in the different part-systems. I will first describe the procedures in the local systems. These are known to all the Macha and, therefore, provide a basis for their understanding and use of the legal bodies and procedures making up the official system.

One of the main features of the *jarsa-arara* system is its lack of efficient sanctions. This does not mean that there is no possibility whatsoever of enforcing the *arara* decisions. It is limited, however, to the somewhat un-

certain consequences of the pressure that public opinion, based on existing norms, can exert in support of the mediators' decision. The threat of transferring the dispute from the local system to the official one can also have a similar result. The effectiveness of the decision, therefore, depends mainly on the elders' ability to bring about an acceptable compromise. This is also reflected in the negotiation procedure. A demand for reconciliation according to the *arara*-procedure is made to some senior man, who either holds one of the positions in the local society indicated above or is respected for other reasons. The two parties then choose their elder or elders, so that the final arbitration group consists of three, five, or more people. One of these is called *jarsa bita*, the elder of the left, and one *jarsa mirga*, the elder of the right. Their function is to listen to and speak for one of the two parties. The plaintiff who stands on the right side is the first to speak. Having presented his complaint he lays before the elders all the points he considers relevant to the case. The defendant may then do the same. After the two parties have pleaded their cases, the elders retire to discuss the matter. During this discussion they may call either of the two parties for clarification of still obscure questions. When the elders consider that they have an acceptable solution to the case, the two parties are given an opportunity to comment on it, whereupon further adjustment of details can be made. The final decision is then pronounced by the chairman of the mediation group in a ritual fashion.⁷ If the compromise is refused by one of the parties, the elders are called to a new meeting. If, after several attempts to reach a solution, the matter still remains unsolved, the case may be dropped or may be taken further to an official body or to a *kallu*.

The lack of formal sanctions naturally diminishes the efficiency of the *jarsa arara* system. But there is actually one circumstance which is advantageous to its activity, and sometimes compensates for the absence of sanctions. This balancing factor is to be found in the Macha conception of the compromise which in its turn issues from the 'theory' of *duga* and *čubu*. Right and truth do exist and so do their opposites, crime and sin. But the exact borderline between the two is not always easy for men to perceive. Only Divinity has complete knowledge of what is right. A human being can be in the right, but this 'right' can be 'bent' so that it appears wrong or can be hidden and impossible to prove. This is the same idea underlying many prayers to *waka* and the *ayanas*: "Make my *duga* straight

⁷ See above p. 56.

for me and do not bend it," "Do not hide my *duga*," or "Do not take my *duga* from me." The character of 'truth' and 'right', as indicated here, is such that not even the one who appears to be 'wrong' should be denied all chance of being in the right. The next time it could be one's own turn to be accused of having done wrong, although one knows that one is innocent. Because they do not know the whole truth, men cannot produce completely correct solutions to human problems; they can only suggest better or worse ones. A good solution is, therefore, one which can be accepted by both parties at dispute, even if the one who seems to be right must give way a little, and judgement on the one who appears guilty is partly mitigated. Underlying the respect for compromise is most certainly also the experience that, if a compromise is rejected, the dispute will remain unsettled and may cause unknown and harmful consequences to people other than the parties concerned. It lies in the interest of the local community, therefore, that the compromise be accepted and respected. This view contributes toward creating a positive though vague sanction for the acceptance of an *arara* compromise and, to a corresponding degree, a negative sanction against a rejection of the proffered solution. This attitude finds expression in the Macha idea that any man who, for example, in a case of manslaughter refuses the reconciliation proposed by those representing the killer's group is himself guilty of a more serious crime than the one who originally killed.

Despite the presence of factors which increase the operability of a local arbitration system without regular sanctions, there are naturally occasions when a decision cannot be enforced without recourse to such. It is at this juncture that the *kallu* enters the picture. He is qualified in several respects as a judge. His moral quality is considered superior to that of the average person, and in consequence he is fitted for the role of mediator and judge. He commands a thorough knowledge of customary rules, and he has access to a higher knowledge through his connection with the *ayana*. Because of the power of his *ayana*, he can resort to what are for Macha real and effective sanctions, which, combined with his special knowledge, enable him to produce final settlements of otherwise irreconcilable disputes.

A *kallu*'s judicial function includes various types of procedures. Depending on their character, a rough division under five main headings can be made.

- i. A *kallu*'s great prestige renders him valued as chairman in an ordinary *jarsa-arara* proceeding. As a rule he only takes part in the settling of

disputes of the relatively simple type dealt with by the elders in his own minimal lineage and the closer neighbourhood group. His participation in the local jurisdiction in general is reserved mainly for more serious problems.

ii. If a *jarsa arara*'s repeated efforts to reach a settlement have proved fruitless, a dispute can be referred to a *kallu*. Procedure by the *kallu* follows the same main pattern as an ordinary arbitration. Theoretically, it is possible for the compromise produced by the *kallu* in his capacity as chairman in an *arara* of this type to be rejected, which in its turn would result in the problem's being laid before the *ayana* in the *galma* during a *dallaga* ritual. My own observation and the information supplied by both *kallus* and their clients suggest that this is rare. As chairman in the *jarsa arara* the *kallu* already speaks with the 'mouth' of *ayana*. He will not dare to say anything unless he is sure the *ayana* will approve. His compromise is, therefore, final and must be accepted by the parties, unless they wish to attract the *ayana*'s punishment.

iii. It is not uncommon for a case to be referred to a *kallu* from an official court, if one of the two parties decides to put the case to the test of a *kallu* and his divinity. When such a transfer is made, whether from the official legal system's authorities to a *kallu* or from a local judge or an *arara* group, the following phrase is used: *dubbin kuni mana waka habulu, lačitu, mal hojenna abba dugati wakni hadubattu*—May this case spend the night in the house of *waka* (*galma*), the only thing we can do is to leave it. For the one who is right may *waka* speak.

There are no fixed rules as to how and when a transfer from an official court to a *kallu* shall take place, since it is a question of a transfer between two institutions with no contacts or routine relations whatsoever. Seen against the background of Ethiopian legal praxis that a dispute, if possible, shall be settled within 'the field of customary law', such a transfer is not remarkable in itself. The difference between it and the kind of transfer where both parties agree to reach a reconciliation through mediation is that, when the case is transferred to a *kallu*, only one of the parties need propose it. According to unanimous information on this point, the other party must accept this decision to avoid incurring the wrath of the *ayana*.

iv. The participation of a *kallu* is absolutely necessary for the resolution of problems requiring ritual appeasement. To this category belong reconciliations of manslaughter and murder, which today, however, are usually dealt with by the official authorities. In addition to this category of crime, there are also those cases in which ritual rules have been broken

or are in some other way involved. Examples are cases where a father refuses to have a child adopted even though an application has been made in such a ritual-formal manner that, according to traditional praxis, it cannot be refused. This category also includes cases where parents have cursed their children and then refused to lift the curse, despite the entreaties of the victims.

v. A special type of procedure called *agi bafaču*—to lift the curse—which requires the co-operation of the *kallu* institution comes into use if either of the parties in a dispute has taken an oath or cursed the other party in an *ayana*'s name. A curse that has been uttered without mention of the *ayana*'s name can be lifted if the one who has made it uses the phrase *waka hafu*—May *waka* let it remain, may it be forgotten. If, on the other hand, the *ayana*'s name has been invoked, then the withdrawal of the curse and the final settlement of the dispute must take place in front of the shrine belonging to the *ayana* named. The presence of a *kallu*'s ritual assistants is required for this procedure. This form of reconciliation is set in motion by an ordinary *jarsa arara* which tries to clarify whether the oath or curse was actually uttered or not, and, if it was, which *ayana* was invoked by name. When it is finally established that an *ayana*'s name has been involved and that it is the *ayana* belonging to the *kallu* to whom the case has been taken, the elders agree to continue the proceedings. If, however, it should appear that the *ayana* in question belongs to another *kallu*, the parties are referred to the latter. Once the case has been accepted, the elders then try to determine the division of responsibility in the original dispute when the *ayana* was invoked. If the *duga* of the two parties is found to be equal, the mediators demand a minor tribute in money, butter, or salt to the *ayana* before the proceedings move into the *galma*. Should the one who has invoked the name of the *ayana* also be the guilty one in the original dispute, he alone pays fines to the *ayana*. When both parties have uttered the phrase *waka hafu*, they and the elders move into the *galma* where the matter is laid before the assembled *salgano*. The latter conduct proceedings of an *arara* character whereby it is again established who has used the *ayana*'s name to further his cause. The final lifting of the curse takes place with the guilty party chewing seven blades of grass or seven leaves from an *irresa* twig and then spitting seven times upwards and seven times downwards, while the one cursed asks, "*Aka sera Maram, aka sera Gofa agi nabafte*—Did you lift the curse according to the rules of the female and the male *ayana*?" This rite which takes place in the female *ayana*'s shrine is then repeated in the male

ayana's house with the difference that the guilty party here chews nine blades of grass or nine leaves which he spits upwards and downwards.

Whatever reasons the Macha may have for lifting a curse uttered in the name of the ayana, the procedure of *agi bafaču* shows that an extensive machinery of protective measures is set in motion to prevent a diffusion of the kallu prerogatives and, at the same time, to safeguard his monopoly with respect to his ritual sanctions.

In the official juridical system, procedure on the lowest levels, where cases are handled by *balabatt* and *korro*, consists partly in mediation procedures of the traditional *jarsa-arara* type. This is usually the case in disputes of a civil character. Should it happen that such a dispute is not solved by this kind of procedure, it is taken to the next level in the administrative system, which is the sub-district governor and judge. It can also be referred to a kallu.

In criminal cases the *balabatt* and *korro* act as prosecution. They are also duty-bound to inform the sub-district judge of the crime. He, depending on the type of crime, either hears the case himself or refers it to a higher body. At the sub-district level the governor acts as sole judge assisted by a clerk. The accused either presents his case personally or is represented by a deputy. At sub-district level it is still quite common for the local system's representative to plead the case before the official court. The custom of employing literate persons as lawyers is, however, on the increase. This is particularly so in the higher district and sub-provincial courts.

XI. CASES

While I do not intend to make a detailed analysis of Macha 'law' in this study, I shall, nonetheless, supplement the general picture I have given with a number of actual cases which will illustrate more clearly the compasses of the various sub-systems in the system of justice.

These cases exemplify different types of procedure, and demonstrate what kinds of dispute are solved at the various levels. They also show how cases are transferred from one 'level' to another.

Arara cases

Case 1. fight

On the way home from the market in Guder two young men started to argue about the division of the profit from a joint sale of *teff* which they had purchased. After a long quarrel, a fight began and one of the men

cut the other's head with his stick. The following day the youth who had been struck and his father came to the house of the assailant's father and called him and his son names such as robber, ruffian, and so on. The assailant's father replied in kind. A fresh fight was prevented by the prompt arrival of neighbours belonging to the assailant's minimal lineage. Four days later the assailant's father sent word to the originally injured party that he wished reconciliation. This request was accepted, and each of the two young men chose his father as *jarsa*. The two fathers then selected from the vicinity a third elder belonging to another clan. After hearing both parties, the elders decided unanimously that the fight was not a serious matter. "Boys must fight, otherwise they will not be men." The guilt of the one party because of the blow was considered to be counterbalanced by the insults from the injured party. The two youths were ordered to shake hands and exchange the customary kisses of greeting in the presence of the elders.

Summary: Case solved in one *arara* session.

Case 2. fight

A runaway mule had approached the farm of Abba Mirga,⁸ who caught it and shut it up in the cattle kraal. Shortly afterwards some men, led by Banti Gura and claiming to seek the mule, arrived and demanded that it be turned over to them. Abba Mirga refused. He called together his brothers who lived nearby, and after some discussion the two groups started to fight with their spears. A man in Abba Mirga's group wounded Banti Gura in the head and shoulder with his spear, whereupon Banti Gura's companions fled, taking him with them. He was brought to the sub-district governor to get a certificate stating how the injury had been caused so that he could claim compensation from Abba Mirga for any treatment he would have to undergo at the mission hospital in Ambo. The sub-district governor refused to write out such a certificate as he did not know all the facts. Banti Gura was then carried to the sub-province office for Jibat and Macha in Ambo, where a certificate was obtained stating that the injury had been caused during a fight. Thereupon, three days after receiving the wound, the injured man was taken to the mission hospital for attention. Two months later the parties called for *jarsa arara*. When it had met three times during the course of a month, the following agreement was reached by the arbitrators: that Banti Gura should have waited to claim his mule

⁸ All names are fictitious.

until a later occasion when he could have brought witnesses to prove his ownership; that Abba Mirga had a right to claim some compensation for having caught and cared for the mule; that consequently, although Abba Mirga had begun the fight, Banti Gura was not without guilt.

On these grounds the elders decided that Abba Mirga should give the mule to Banti Gura without demanding compensation for looking after it, and that Banti Gura should not claim compensation for injury or medical treatment. Two months after the elders had announced this decision, it was finally agreed upon by both parties and the dispute was settled.

Summary: Case solved after four arara sessions

Case 3. loan

Three years earlier, according to Marga Elemu, Gula Ibsa had borrowed 3 *kunas* of wheat from him but had neither paid back the grain nor the interest they had agreed upon. The dispute was brought before a group of five elders led by a *gula*. The plaintiff presented his case. The defendant in his turn claimed, with the support of witnesses, that he had only received half a *kuna*, but admitted that he had not repaid it. He asserted, however, that he had given the plaintiff 25 Ethiopian cents in interest. The plaintiff admitted that he had received this sum, but now demanded that he be given the three *kuna* that he claimed to have lent. The defendant protested that in that case the plaintiff ought to pay interest on the 25 cents he had received long ago. He himself considered that the interest on the grain and on the 25 cents would cancel each other.

The plaintiff offered to repay the 25 cents immediately in return for the grain together with interest. The defendant on his side argued that, if his money was refunded with interest, he would give back the grain with interest.

After having discussed the dispute with the four other elders, the chairman of the *arara*-group presented the following compromise:

"Wheat is very cheap in this place. The plaintiff has received 25 cents. He should pay interest on them. The defendant has received wheat and should also pay interest on it. The two amounts of interest cancel each other. Therefore, the plaintiff shall repay the 25 cents, and the defendant shall give back half a *kuna* of wheat to the plaintiff."

Both parties accepted this decision, and it was agreed that the payments be made the following day. The dispute was finally settled eight days later, when complete repayment was made.

Summary: Case solved in one arara session.

Case 4. Divorce

A woman had decided to leave her husband because of his 'cruelty', as she expressed it. He called her insulting names, did not provide her with clothes, and beat her. She was determined to leave him. To persuade her to change her mind the husband convoked elders to reconcile them. After three meetings the wife agreed to stay, and the husband was ordered to give her two sets of new clothes.

Summary: Case solved after three arara sessions.

Case 5. Divorce

A woman who had previously been married several times married an older man on his promise to give her clothes worth 15 Ethiopian dollars. When he had still not kept his promise three months after the marriage, the woman called witnesses and convoked elders.

The *jarsa* upheld her claim unanimously. The husband asked for a respite until after the harvest, which the *jarsa* urged the woman to grant. She, however, demanded prompt payment and, since this was impossible and since the husband was not able to get a guarantor during the negotiations, she left her husband immediately after the arara-proceedings had finished.

Summary: Case unsolved.

Case 6. Theft

A woman had been robbed of her *waya*, cloak. She called *jarsa* and accused the wife of one of her husband's sharecroppers of the theft. After witnesses had supported the accusation, and the stolen garment had been found in the house of the accused, the elders decided that the accused should return the cloak to its owner and that she should further compensate the latter by paying her 10 Ethiopian cents. This was done the next day, and the two parties were reconciled.

Summary: Case solved after two arara sessions.

Case 7. Accidental fire

In burning dry grass to improve the pasturage, the person who lit the fire lost control of it. A strong wind spread it to a homestead, where two dwelling-houses and a granary were burnt down. The *balabatt* of the region

demanding that the guilty person be handed over to him. This order was not obeyed. Instead the man was kept hidden by his relatives, and his other neighbours did not reveal who he was. After some time a *jarsa arara* was convened. After two hearings, it unanimously ordered the culprit and his minimal lineage to help the household that had suffered from the fire to rebuild the houses.

Summary: Case solved after two *arara* sessions.

Cases brought before officially recognized local judges and official courts

Case 8. Loan

On various occasions, especially holidays, a group of people may decide to perform *ķirča*. The procedure is as follows: a cow, goat, or sheep is bought by the group; when the value of the skin has been deducted, each man pays an equal amount, and after the slaughter the meat and entrails of the animal are divided according to their type and quality; then equal portions of each kind are distributed among the participants.

After a *ķirča* one of those participating in the slaughter accused another man before the regional *korro*, who in his turn appointed two elders as assistants.

The plaintiff claimed that the defendant had taken meat worth 1.75 Et. dollars without paying. The defendant protested that it was he who had bought the cow and slaughtered it for the *ķirča*. The plaintiff denied this and maintained that a third man had made the purchase. When asked by the *korro*, the defendant admitted that he had taken meat for 1.50 Et. dollars. He refused, however, to pay back this sum, since the plaintiff owed his wife the same amount of money. He also asserted that the plaintiff had previously agreed to settle the debt in this way. The plaintiff protested that he had given the meat to the defendant, not to his wife, and that the defendant, therefore, should pay; the matter between him and the defendant's wife ought to be settled at another time, and between those directly involved.

At this point, the *korro* intervened and said to the defendant:

"You have taken meat from the plaintiff. Therefore, put the sum you owe him on the ground. If your wife wishes, she can bring a charge against him and get her money back. You must pay for what you have received."

The defendant replied that he had no money at the moment but would pay the plaintiff later. He now admitted the sum to be 1.75 Et. dollars. The plaintiff demanded that guarantors should be named. After some discussion one of the two elders offered to act as guarantor for the defendant.

Summary: Case solved by 'local judge' procedure.

Case 9. Cattle breeding

It is usual for a cattle owner with too many animals, or without land of his own, to give animals to someone who has pasture for them. This arrangement is called *kife kennu* (to give or share half). The person who is given the animals keeps them as his own, but their offspring are divided equally between the original owner and the breeder.

The following case was brought before the regional *balabatt*. Previously it had been unsuccessfully dealt with by a *jarsa arara* and had already been up once, also unsuccessfully, before the district court.

Sime Čimsa had given Alemu Hundesa a mare and a ewe according to the rules for *kife kennu*. Alemu had not guarded the animals well, and both the mare and the ewe had been killed by leopards. Before that, they had given birth to a foal and a lamb, to which, according to the contract, Sime had half rights.

Alemu, however, had a debt to a third man, Ejirsa Akako, who had summoned Alemu before the district court to get the debt paid. Alemu had claimed before the court that both animals belonged to Sime, but Ejirsa had called witnesses who asserted that both animals belonged to Alemu. The judge also came to this conclusion, and Alemu was sentenced to pay his debt to Ejirsa with the foal and the lamb.

Sime now considered himself unjustly treated, since he had been forced to pay Alemu's debt with his half share in the animals. He, therefore, accused Ejirsa before the *balabatt* of unjustly forcing him to participate in paying Alemu's debt. Ejirsa protested that he had not been unfair but had only claimed his rights, which the district judge had upheld.

When the positions had thus been made clear, the *balabatt* and his *jarsa* council deliberated and reached the following conclusions: that Sime had given the two original animals in *kife*; that these animals had been devoured by leopards; that Sime and Alemu each had half rights in the offspring; that Alemu was trying to protect his share from being handed over to Ejirsa by asserting that both animals belonged wholly to Sime.

Since Sime and Alemu had a half share each in the surviving animals, the *balabatt* ordered that the value of the animals be divided and the remainder of Alemu's debt to Ejirsa be paid at a later date.

This recommendation was accepted by Ejirsa but not by Sime, who, supported by Alemu, held that, since the original animals had been killed through neglect, both the surviving animals should be regarded as wholly the property of Sime as compensation. Sime, for his part, stated that he intended to take the matter to the provincial judge.

Summary: Case unsolved by *arara* and 'local judge' procedure, referred to official court.

Case 10. Land dispute

Through inheritance a man owned half a *gaša*⁹ of land in the highlands and one fourth of a *gaša* in a lowland area about 60 kilometres from his highland holding. Because of repeated crop failures in the highland area, he had been forced to move his family and cattle to the lowland properties where the soil was more fertile, and where he, moreover, could use a small stream for irrigation.

After moving he had not paid any land tax on his highland property nor had he been asked for the tax. When after three years he prepared to move back to his highland holding, he found that a grain merchant from a market village had paid the tax for the last two years and was thereby claiming ownership of the land. Repeated attempts to solve the dispute through a *jarsa arara* failed. The case was referred to the sub-district court and from there to the district court, both of which granted the ownership of the land to the person who had last paid the taxes. The original landowner, convinced that the previous decisions had been influenced by the merchant, had appealed to the sub-province court. Four years of repeated negotiations in this court had not resulted in any solution, and the original owner, at the time I was there, was inclined to let the matter drop, since he could no longer afford to pay a 'lawyer' and felt that the grain merchant, because of his better economic position, could further delay a settlement.

Summary: Case unsolved despite *arara* and repeated official court proceedings.

⁹ One *gaša* is approximately 40 hectares.

Case 11. Land dispute

Thirteen years before my field stay two men had bought land jointly from a third man. They had cultivated the soil together for twelve years and paid taxes on it. Then the man from whom they had bought the land died, whereupon his brother sold the land to a new purchaser, alleging that it had been inherited originally from their father by both brothers, and that it had been sold to the two men without his knowledge.

Repeated *jarsa arara* meetings accomplished nothing. The case had then been taken first to the sub-district court which awarded the land to the surviving brother. The two men who had bought the land demanded that the surviving brother repay the property taxes which they had paid for twelve years, and appealed the case to the district court where it was at the time of my field stay.

Summary: Case unsolved despite repeated *arara* and official court proceedings.

Case 12. Theft

Three cows had disappeared in the region, and when neither the *balabatt* nor the *korro* with their levy of men had been able to find the animals, the owner reported their disappearance to the sub-district governor.

The governor issued a summons to a so-called *afarsata*¹⁰ if the animals were not found within ten days. When the time had elapsed, the local authorities and five local policemen went to the region where the cows had disappeared and for a week held meetings with the population. Since no one could be proven guilty despite numerous accusations, the sub-district governor decided, in accordance with custom, that all heads of households should jointly pay the owner the value of the lost cattle. After checking that the payment had been made, the *afarsata* was dissolved.

Summary: Case solved by official-court procedure.

Case 13. Theft

A man bought a cow at the cattle market in Guder. On the way home from the market another man discovered that the cow in fact was his and had been previously stolen. He accused the buyer of theft and had

¹⁰ When serious crimes occur the people of a region (usually of a *balabattship*) are summoned for an investigation of the case. This is called *afarsata* (Amh.) or *izgota* (Gall.).

him arrested. The buyer was taken to the district prison where he was kept several weeks until his minimal lineage put up bail. Through witnesses and pressure in other ways the owner of the animal succeeded in having the purchaser found guilty of possessing stolen goods and sentenced to pay compensation for the cow. The man appealed, and at the time of my stay in the field the case was before the sub-provincial court.

Summary: Case unsolved by official-court procedure.

Kallu cases

Case 14. Loan

A man claimed to have lent another man grain worth 50 Et. dollars, which the latter denied, bringing witnesses before the *jarsa arara* in support of his case. When the plaintiff and his witnesses could not convince the elders that the loan had been made, he referred the matter to his clan *kallu*. At a meeting before the *kallu*, the latter ordered the parties to grasp the *furda* while they argued their case as is done during confession and prayer to the *ayana*. Under these circumstances, the defendant, when questioned, admitted that he had received a loan of the amount claimed by the plaintiff. He was then ordered by the *kallu* to repay it immediately, and in order to ensure that this would be done, to name two men present as his guarantors. These two men were asked whether they were willing to guarantee jointly the repayment of the loan and promised to do so. Ten days later the loan was repaid.

Summary: Case unsolved by *arara* procedure, solved by *kallu*.

Case 15. Dispute between landowner and sharecropper

A woman landowner convened a *jarsa arara* and made an accusation against one of her sharecroppers. According to her he was a bad worker and spent his time carousing and dancing. She had ordered the man to move away from her land, but he had refused. She summoned *jarsa arara* to have him evicted.

The defendant on his part called witnesses who attested that he was a good worker, which the majority of the elders also confirmed. At the close of the first session the elders stated that they would make a more thorough investigation of the circumstances. At the next meeting the defendant gave his version of the background to the dispute. At *meskal*, the Ethiopian New Year, it is customary for young men to gather for

celebrations. First, they go from house to house collecting money or food. With the money they buy a bull which they slaughter. On this occasion it had been suggested that they go to a clan kallu to ask for gifts. The son of the woman landowner had then said that this clan kallu did not wish them to come to his house. When the others in the group asked from whom he had got this information, the landowner's son claimed that he had got it from the sharecropper who was later accused. The woman landowner had at one time been married to the father of the kallu in question, and according to unanimous reports, both she and her son were bitter against the present clan kallu because they considered that he had been unduly favoured after the elder clan kallu's death. Therefore, the sharecropper claimed, the woman landowner's actual dissatisfaction with him had originated in the dispute between him and her son, and the accusation of poor work was merely an excuse.

When the elders failed to reconcile the two parties, the sharecropper took the case to the kallu who figured in the controversy. Before him the landowner's son admitted that the accusation was false, whereupon the kallu ordered the landowner to take back the sharecropper. She agreed to this, but the tenant, despite the decision in his favour, preferred to move to another landowner.

Summary: Case unsolved by *arara*-procedure, solved (in principle) by kallu.

Case 16. Divorce

A childless wife considered herself unfairly treated by her husband after he had taken a new wife who had borne him a child. When she threatened to leave him, he called *jarsa arara* to reconcile them. The elders ordered the wife to stay in return for a promise from the husband to respect her from then on as his senior wife and to give her the prerogatives to which, according to custom, she was entitled. The wife, however, refused to accept their solution and referred the matter to her clan kallu.

After several negotiations before him and the *jarsa*, the kallu decided that the junior wife should allow the senior to adopt her first-born child, in return for which the senior wife would give the junior a set of new clothes.

This decision was accepted and carried out by all three of the parties concerned.

Summary: Case unsolved by *arara*-procedure, solved by kallu.

Case 17. Divorce

Some 18 years earlier a man had moved into the region and with the help of several armed friends had kidnapped a girl and married her (a so called *buti*-marriage). Afterwards he had been reconciled with the girl's parents and ordered to pay compensation. At the time of my field work they had lived together for seventeen years and had had two children. On the occasion of the *ayana abba* sacrifice the wife wished to go to her brother's property, which was nearby, to take part in the sacrifice, but was forcibly prevented from doing so by her husband. She asked for an immediate divorce and claimed before the elders, whom the husband had convoked, that he brought calamity on their house by preventing her from participating in the sacrifice. During three meetings with the elders she also brought up other reasons for her request:

- i. On the occasion of their marriage her husband had disgraced her family once and for all, since she, as a virgin, had had the right to claim a contracted marriage.
- ii. Since her portion of her father's land was larger and more fertile than the land her husband had received from his father, she, in fact, was making the largest contribution to the support of the family.
- iii. Her husband refused to make the sacrifices necessary to protect himself against calamity and bad luck, and was, according to her, ultimately responsible for a series of misfortunes with the animals and for the illness from which she herself suffered.

She refused to accept on any terms the reconciliation urged by the elders. The husband, who had formerly been critical of the *kallu* ritual, then referred the dispute to his clan *kallu*. When the latter had heard the case, he ordered that a bull be sacrificed before the house and the sacrificial blood sprinkled in the house to atone for the husband's possible ritual offenses, and exhorted the wife not to proceed with her divorce. Both parties accepted the *kallu*'s decision.

Summary: Case unsolved by *arara*-procedure, solved by *kallu*.

Case 18. Land dispute

Three brothers and a sister inherited land from their father. The brothers decided that the land should not be divided, but should be cultivated as a unit and the produce divided. The sister, who was married and lived in another region, considered herself for a number of years discriminated

against by this system, asserting that she was not given her legitimate share. Her husband, therefore, called elders to execute a partition of the land. The *jarsa*, however, was not able to work out a solution acceptable to everyone, and the case was referred to the sub-district and thereafter to the district court. Here, the brothers, through lawyers and various kinds of pressure, managed to delay a judgement. After two years of fruitless negotiation the sister's husband requested that the case be settled before the *kallu*. In the final settlement the brothers' wish that the land remain undivided was complied with, but the sister was granted the right to hire labour proportionate to one quarter of the entire labour force on the common land and, after having paid her sharecroppers, to receive the remaining portion of the yield. This proposal had originally been made by the elders, but had then been refused by the brothers.

Summary: Case unsolved by repeated *arara* and official court proceedings. Solved by *kallu*.

Case 19. Land dispute

A man had died and left four sons and a daughter. Three of the sons were married and lived in the neighbourhood. They cultivated the father's land in common. One of them also cultivated a smaller plot in the capacity of sharecropper for another landowner. The daughter was divorced and with her two young children lived with her mother. The fourth brother had moved to a market-town where he worked as a grain merchant. At the father's death the fourth brother asked for a partition of the land. The others objected but insisted, nonetheless, that he pay his share of the land tax which he refused to do. Elders were convoked and proposed that the fourth brother be exempt from contributing to the land tax, since he did not cultivate the land. If he so desired, however, he should have the right to hire a sharecropper and thus receive a part of the yield in which case he should pay one fifth of the land tax. He refused to agree to this proposal and, after repeated unsuccessful negotiations, took the controversy to his clan *kallu*.

When the case was presented to the latter, the 'plaintiff' emphasized that the reason for his demand was his wish to secure for himself and his descendants the right to sacrifice to the *ayana abba*. According to the customary rules this can be done only on land patrilineally inherited. He feared that he or his children, because of hostility on the part of the other brothers, might be deprived of this right, if the land remained in collective ownership.

The kallu first urged reconciliation and concord, but when the 'plaintiff' constantly reiterated his fear of being unable to fulfil his ritual obligations, the kallu at the last meeting ordered in the *ayana's* name that the land be partitioned so that peace in the family and with the *ayana abba* should not be endangered. On the basis of these instructions the brothers appointed elders to act as assessors and surveyors of the land to be divided.

Summary: Case unsolved by the *arara*-procedure, solved by kallu.

Case 20. Curse

An elderly father had an only son who did not get on well with him and had, therefore, moved away from his land to work as a sharecropper on another man's property. When the father felt himself growing older and weaker, he begged the son to return to cultivate the land and take care of him, which the son did. After a short time there was again disagreement between them, the father cursed the son in *Maram's* name, and the son again moved away. Shortly afterwards one of his children died. He feared that the death was a result of his father's curse and asked the latter to remove it. This the father, also fearing that the curse had caused the child's death, was willing to do. The elders who were convoked refused, however, to have anything to do with the matter when they heard the nature of the curse, and passed the case on to the father's clan kallu. At the kallu's *galma* the *agi bafaču* procedure (see above p. 114) was carried out and the curse finally lifted.

Summary: *Arara*-procedure impossible because of the ritual character of the case. Solved by kallu.

Case 21. Witchcraft

When a number of cows belonging to a group of neighbours had aborted their calves, a suspicion arose that someone in the neighbourhood was *budda*, i.e., had the evil eye, or that someone was practising *mortu* work; i.e., witchcraft. Several persons who had been directly pointed out as *buddas* summoned their accusers before the *jarsa* to have the insult removed. The elders referred the case to the kallu who gave orders for the preventive ritual against witchcraft to be performed in the neighbourhood. In this procedure each of the adult men appeared before the *jarsa* and repeated the following phrase: "If I practise witchcraft, may the evil I do first destroy myself."

Summary: Case involving ritual offense referred by *arara* group to kallu. Solved by preventive ritual ordered by kallu.

*Case 22. Murder*¹¹

a. A husband discovered that his wife had a young boy as lover. To warn the youth he let it be known that he was offended and also summoned the boy before elders who commanded him to break off his relationship with the man's wife. When the youth still continued, the husband took the matter to a *kallu* who ordered the youth to leave the place. On his way from the *kallu*, the youth insulted the husband, saying that he would have nothing against having intercourse with him, since he was merely a woman. The man was furious and shot the youth.

b. After some time the district authorities arrested the man for manslaughter. When all the witnesses certified that it was the youth who had caused the conflict leading to his own death, and the young man's party declared itself willing to join in the traditional reconciliation, the man was freed, and *guma* (reconciliation after homicide) was carried out by the two parties under the supervision of a *gula* and a *kallu*.

Summary: Case consisting of two conflicts.

- a) unsolved by *arara*-procedure; refusal to adhere to *kallu* decision
- b) case brought to official court, later referred to customary settlement partly supervised by *kallu*.

Despite the fact that the cases described here are all too few and that some of them were not finally settled during my stay in the field, they do elucidate certain important features of the organization of justice in the Macha society of today. For example, they illustrate the distribution of various types of disputes among the different bodies in a plural juridical system containing several culturally and sociologically heterogeneous elements. Furthermore, they show the pattern of interdependence between these elements and the ways in which disputes are transferred from one body to another within the larger system.

The cases brought before the *jarsa arara* for settlement appear to be chiefly lesser disputes concerning such matters as loans, marriage conflicts, conflicts between landowners and sharecroppers, and also conflicts deriving from premises in the local culture, for example, bride price disputes and certain forms of antisocial behaviour. Less important criminal cases such as petty larceny and fights are usually also referred to the *jarsa* for settlement.

¹¹ It should again be noted that reconciliation after murder in this traditional way is becoming rare in Macha. Most serious criminal cases are brought to the official courts.

TABLE 1. Judicial procedures.

	Case nr	Case settled	Case non- settled	Case referred to local judge or official court	Case referred to kallu
arara procedure	1	x			
	2	x			
	3	x			
	4	x			
	5		x		
	6	x			
	7	x			
	9			x	
	10			x	
	11			x	
	14				x
	15				x
	16				x
	17				x
	18			x	
	19				x
	20				x
	21				x
	22 ^a				x
	19	6	1	4	8
local judge and official court procedure	8	x			
	9			x	
	10		x		
	11		x		
	12	x			
	13		x		
	18 22 ^b				x (x)
	8	2	3	1	2
kallu procedure	14	x			
	15	x			
	16	x			
	17	x			
	18	x			
	19	x			
	20	x			
	21	x			
	22 ^a		(x)		
	22 ^b	(x)			
	10	9	1		
Total	37	17	5	5	10

The conflicts brought before the officially recognized local judges and the courts of the official administration are partly more serious criminal cases such as gross theft, cattle robbery, and manslaughter, and partly controversies concerning land rights.

It is impossible to circumscribe, even vaguely, the types of conflict that come under the 'jurisdiction' of a *kallu*. The only cases taken directly to him are certain crimes which necessitate the application of the *agi bafaču* procedure. Beyond this it can only be stated that, in general, the greatest number of cases handled by a *kallu* consists of conflicts brought to him after the *jarsa arara* procedure has failed. Similarly, cases at various levels in the official judicial system may also be transferred to a *kallu* (e.g., cases 18 and 22). As I have mentioned above, he participates too in simpler *arara* reconciliations within his closest local group.

In my introductory remarks on the *kallu*'s juridical function I assumed for various reasons that the *kallu* represents a final authority not only in matters concerning customary knowledge and ritual but also in local justice. In order to try to test this hypothesis I have now to discuss the actual effectiveness of the various levels and bodies in the juridical system illustrated by the cases presented. Here again the cases are far too few to permit our drawing absolutely definite conclusions. Certain general tendencies, however, are demonstrated by the material described.

The twenty-two cases include in all thirty-seven proceedings.¹² Of these, nineteen, or one half, are *arara* negotiations, of which six, or one third, resulted in effective mediation while the rest either remained unsettled or were referred to other judicial bodies.

Of the eight cases dealt with by officially recognized judges or by district and sub-province courts, four were taken directly to these bodies, while four were continuations of earlier *arara* proceedings. Six of these eight cases were unsettled at the time when they were recorded.

Ten cases involved *kallu* procedure. Two of these had been transferred from official courts to a *kallu*. The others had previously been the subjects of unsuccessful *arara* meetings. This was also the case with one of the conflicts transferred from the official court. In eight cases a quick solution was reached by appealing for a decision from the *kallu*. In one case (22*a*) there was obstruction. This, however, led to an aggravated conflict (22*b*) which was settled with the co-operation of a *kallu*.

¹² Repeated sessions of the same type uncouned.

Unanimous statements as well as the cases described support the opinion that in the local juridical system the *kallu*, in contrast to the lower *arara* level, possesses sufficient authority to render his decisions definitive and effective. In order to avoid any misunderstanding, however, this statement must be qualified somewhat. The *kallu*'s position as a final juridical authority in the local system does not preclude cases' being transferred from one *kallu* to another who is reputed to be a specialist in handling certain types of conflicts. Nor does my claim exclude the possibility that even a *kallu*'s decision may not be effective in certain cases, as for example in case 22*b*. This does not, however, affect the definition of the *kallu* as in general a final authority in the local system of justice. It merely indicates the limits of the ritual sanctions he has at his disposal.

XII. THE KALLU AS 'LEGISLATOR'

Before ending the discussion of the *kallu*'s juridical function, I should like to add a few words on his role as 'legislator'. An analysis of the Macha conception and concepts of 'law' presents in itself an intricate problem that falls outside the scope of this study. However, as a background to my remarks on the *kallu* as a 'law-giver' I wish to include some notes on the most important of the concepts that may be translated into terms of 'law'.

The most comprehensive concepts in this connection are *duda* and *hoda*, which can be best translated as customs in general. The term *sera* is closer in meaning to 'law', or 'legal rules' in a general sense. However, it is also used in combinations where it has a broader significance. *Sera oromo* denotes not only Oromo or Galla law, but also the Oromo or Galla 'way of life' (*aka sera oromo*—according to the Galla way of life, or according to the Galla 'law'). In the combination *sera ayana* the word means the *ayana*'s law or all the rules enforced by the *ayana*.

Besides *sera* which represents rules believed to reflect ideal social conditions, there are what I should like to call more functional 'law' concepts. Such a concept is *lallaba* (from *lallabu*—to proclaim) which signifies the spoken or proclaimed rules. This term is chiefly associated with the oral 'law' proclamations formerly made by a ruling *gada* class (see below chapter VII).

Another similar concept is *tuma* (from *tumu*—to beat, strike). It means 'the beaten law' and refers to a 'legal' decision reached through exhaustive discussion and presented with a rhythmical beating of the earth with the staff of the speaker.

However these different concepts may be translated and the boundaries drawn between them, they have an important feature in common. 'Law' as ideal, the proclaimed 'law', and the 'legal' decision all belong to or are associated with the suprahuman sphere of reality. Just as the ultimate explanations of the phenomena in the human world are to be found in the suprahuman, the rules for social behaviour also stem in the end from the will and decision of Divinity.

The *kallu*'s second important role in the local justice of eastern Macha is to be regarded in this connection. As a channel to the divine source of power and wisdom, he cannot only deliver good and effective decisions; he can also make rules for new situations about which the known 'law' has little or nothing to say.

Naturally the field in which a local authority can have a 'legislative' function is much more limited now than during the periods of tribal independence. For this and for other reasons it has been difficult for me to establish a sufficiently large number of 'legislative' actions to be able to draw any very general conclusions as to their content. Some verified cases, however, are illuminating as illustrations.

In choosing these illustrations I have omitted the numerous instances when a *kallu* in various personal crises or difficulties can lay down regulations to be observed for a longer or shorter time by those concerned. To be of interest in a discussion of his role in a situation of social change his 'legislative' activity must be shown to have much more far-reaching consequences. The following cases meet this requirement.

Case 1

A very great economic problem is created for many poor peasants and sharecroppers in eastern Macha by the exorbitant rates of interest practised in the local markets where 10% a month is the rule. Such a high interest may have been reasonable in an originally moneyless economy where the loan usually concerned seed to be repaid after the harvest. On the assumption that the harvest was normal, it does not seem unreasonable even to an outside observer for the lender to receive a part of the yield from the seed he has lent. If one reckons on as modest a yield as 20:1, an interest of 100%, i.e., 1/20 of the yield, does not seem particularly outrageous. Carried over into a money economy, however, such an interest policy has catastrophic consequences, especially if the loan is used for consumption and not for investment. During my first period in the field a serious scarcity of food occurred in certain areas before the harvest.

In this situation one clan kallu intervened maximizing the interest rate on loans at 10%. Another in the ayana's name forbade all taking of interest. It is impossible to determine the exact extent of the compliance with these decisions. Many people demonstrably obeyed the new rule and thereby greatly alleviated a difficult situation.

Case 2

During recent years the moving of unmarried girls to the market villages along with a generally rising price level has drastically raised the bride-price in eastern Macha. It has become increasingly difficult for young men to get their parents to pay or to procure themselves a sufficiently large sum to marry at the age formerly considered suitable. There has been recourse to emergency solutions such as marrying a *gursuma*, a woman already married and divorced, or using more extensively the *buti* method—coercive abduction of the bride. The rising marriage age for men, the less stable unions with *gursuma*, and the conflicts created by abduction were perceived to be negative and dangerous. In this situation a clan kallu fixed a maximum price corresponding to approximately 10 Ethiopian dollars for his clan and for all those who respected his ayana.

Case 3

For those kallus who maintain contact with the central authorities or for other reasons are away from their home regions the taboos regulating their food consumption cause great difficulties. A clan kallu was then informed by his ayana that he could consider industrially prepared food packed in metal or glass as pure in the ritual sense, and that the eating of such food was, therefore, permitted to all those who because of their special position were forbidden to eat food prepared outside their own households.

XIII. SUMMARY

The kallu institution has at its centre a ritual system which in its turn is founded upon a combination of traditional ideas and the kallu's individual interpretation of traditional rules and of events.

In comparison to other systems of division-transcending action, the kallu ritual, through the identification of the kallu with ayana during the possession, offers a direct and tangible contact between Divinity and Man. This gives the kallu a key role in all contexts where a communication

of divine energy and divine authority is involved. Ritual praxis, customary rules of behaviour, and the Macha equivalents of law and justice all issue from the suprahuman part of reality. The kallu's character of intermediary between this sphere and the human sphere constitutes the ideological basis for his position as a final authority in these matters.

The office of kallu is in principle open to anyone who can give sufficient proof of the special direct personal contact with Divinity that is required. Today, however, the rise to the position of a 'big' kallu is to a great extent controlled by already established kallus. This control may be applied directly according to the praxis that kallu candidates should be checked and legitimized by an established kallu. There are also forms of indirect or preventive control mainly consisting in various strategies for the expansion of a kallu sphere of interest. For controlling recruitment and extending his social basis, a kallu uses existent bonds of descent, kinship, and locality, and also ties formed by ritual contracts and other ritual obligations.

On the whole the kallu institution can be characterized as the most important institution in the local eastern Macha culture and society. It is traditional in its dependence on a traditional conception of reality. At the same time it is flexible and adaptable because of its 'individualistic' character and the kallu's ability to give authoritative solutions to problems created by a changing situation.

VI

BACKGROUND OF THE KALLU INSTITUTION

I. RITUAL EXPERTS IN MACHA

A number of circumstances indicate that the present kallu institution as it emerged in Macha about four generations ago is not to be regarded as a complete innovation. The term kallu itself is applied to certain ritual specialists throughout Gallaland. Kallu genealogies from Borana show that the age of the term considerably exceeds the age of the Macha institution. In several regions outside Macha the word *galma* signifies the ritual house of such a kallu.¹ In a number of respects the traditional character of the kallu institution also supports the opinion that its emergence in its present form must be considered in part at least a strengthening of previously existing elements. Whatever we can learn about any possible forerunners will, of course, be most useful in helping us conceive the nature of the change that led to its development and expansion. The possibility of obtaining reliable information is not, however, very great. In the early literature on Macha there are no detailed descriptions of kallus and the term itself is seldom used. In this situation I have chosen to present some oral traditions concerning different ritual experts in earlier periods who may be forerunners of the present kallus, and then to discuss available documentary evidence.

As I have already stated, we can distinguish several types of ritual experts in Macha. Today, however, some of these roles have diminished in importance, while the position of the kallu has become stronger. To get a clearer view of the traditional specialization in the field of ritual we must go back to the turn of the last century, a period for which at the time of my field work it was still possible to obtain first-hand information. Besides the kallu complex, not then so predominant, five types of ritual experts seem to have been respectively of great importance. One of these was the *hayu* who still exists in Macha. He was, and is still, associated with the ceremonial system belonging to the gada class system. In Borana,

¹ For instance Borana, Guji, Arsi.

a *hayu* is a member of one of the councils that, under the 'chairmanship' of the *abba gada*, are responsible for the leadership of the politically active *gada* class. Since the *gada* system in Macha early lost its political significance, the term here signifies a regional group's expert on *gada* ritual and as such the holder of the chief office in the *gada* system. In addition to his duties as ritual expert he also acts as judge in matters referred for decision to the representatives of the *gada* 'ruling' class. In today's usage and in traditions relating to the end of the 19th century, *hayu* is often equated or identified with *abba boku*, keeper of the *gada* system's most celebrated symbol, the scepter, and holder of the supreme office in the traditional Tulama and Macha systems. Connected with this system at the end of the 19th century was also another ritual expert, the *irresa gada*. The holder of this office, which was hereditary within each of the five *gada* groups,² served as ritual leader for his group during its ritually active 8 year period in the *luba* class. An *irresa gada* was subject to taboos similar to those observed by a *kallu*. In one aspect his appearance must have resembled that of a *kallu*; he was not permitted to cut his hair during his eight years in office. The tradition dwells in detail on its length. Such hair, as I have indicated above, is one of the chief external characteristics of the *kallu* today.

There is, however, no reason to assume the existence of a continuity between the two roles. Even today one can observe significant distinctions between the remnants of the *gada* system in Macha and the *kallu* institution. During a *gada* ceremony and at the great collective annual feast *irresa* at the end of the wet season when the local *hayu* or *gula* leads the prayers of thanksgiving to *waka*, a *kallu*, if he participates, has no status differentiating him from ordinary people. And unless he has undergone circumcision at the *butta* ceremony which concludes the *gada* cycle, he does not have the right to lead prayers during this feast.

The third important category of ritual experts in the Macha society two generations ago was also rooted in the *gada* system. It was composed of the *jila* who, as representatives of the active *gada* group, made their pilgrimage to the famous Abba Muda in southern Ethiopia every eighth year. Their purpose was to perform the *muda* ceremony³ there and to bring back knowledge and blessings from the place and the office that for Macha and Tulama was the centre of Galla culture. After their return

² See below p. 170, 178.

³ See below p. 147.

the *jila* served as ritual experts and consultants on questions with which, because of their pilgrimage, they were considered especially qualified to deal.

The fourth more specialized ritual function in the traditional Macha society was and is associated with rainmaking. Some experts are believed to have the power to both produce and stop the rain. As a rule, however, these functions are divided between the *malima* who is supposed to bring rain and the *čamsitu* who can drive rain away.

In addition to these relatively specialized roles there are others more vague. One of them is *abba mora*, the diviner or, literally translated, he who can interpret *mora*, the peritoneum of a sacrificed animal; this is regarded as a map on which the future of the slaughterer can be read.

Another of these less specialized ritual roles is the *borana kulkullu*, the pure borana. It is of interest here for two reasons. First, only those who had been accorded the right to this title could be sent as *jila* on pilgrimages to Abba Muda. Secondly, all leading *kallu* families in Macha today trace their descent from this type of ritually respected and qualified individual. If it were merely a matter of traditions recited in the *kallu* lineages, this information could be dismissed as *kallu* genealogical propaganda. Traditions, however, are unanimous on this point even outside the *kallu* lineages. The one tradition which I reproduce here stems from a descendant of a former *irresa gada* particularly famous for his expert knowledge of the *gada* system.

After first stating that the *kallu*s in the Dada, Abebe, Sullo, and Gamo clans descend from families known as *borana kulkullu*, he gives a detailed description of the latter:

<i>Ėbo lafdti hinčabanĭ;</i>	They don't carry spear (pointing) to the earth;
<i>wakđti hinčabanĭ;</i>	they don't carry (spear pointing) to heaven;
<i>lāfan hintumataniĭ;</i>	they don't beat the earth (with spear or stick when they walk);
<i>đđlga kabatanĭt dēman.</i>	carrying (spear or stick) horizontally they walk.
<i>Āčumān čĭbsan.</i>	Like that they put (them) down.
<i>Āfān kulkullun wāka yō kađđtan,</i>	When they pray to waka with 'clean' mouth,
<i>wakđrra đđga argđtu.</i>	from waka they get (the) truth.
<i>Gđlma hinčabanĭ.</i>	They don't have gālma.

*Ibīdi mǝna hinǝǝmu.
Dǝkaran ǝla hinbǝlu,*

The fire of (their) house does not go out.
(The) door bolt does not spend the night outside.

(In their house the lock is always put on the door).

Kǝrmi ǝla hinbǝlu.

(Their) bull doesn't stay outside during the night.

*Ǫǝda adǝn ǝite.
nǝmni kǝrra isǝni sǝne hinǝǝdu.*

After sunset,
the people who enter their gate, don't take away (don't rob them).

*Isǝn yǝ kaǝǝttan
waǝǝrra hinǝǝbǝn.*

When they pray,
they will not lack (be without reward) from waka.

Yǝ ǝbissan hinbaǝǝsu.

When they bless they will make (people) rich.

*Yǝ kaǝǝttan hinrǝba.
Kǝrma, korbǝsa ǝopesanǝt*

When they pray it will rain.
They make ready (for sacrifice) bull or male goat

tullǝti, malkǝti ba'anǝt sagadǝ.

(and) go and worship on the mountain and in the fords.

*Dǝbo tolǝanǝ, ǝǝrso tolǝanǝ
nadǝn ǝǝǝuf wadǝsan,*

They make bread and (they make) beer together with women carrying ǝǝǝu and wadesa (cordia abyssinica)—sticks.

*Kǝlaǝǝf wadǝsan
ba'anǝ sagadǝ*

With kalaǝa and wadesa sticks
they go out and worship.

In the oral tradition I have found no evidence whatsoever to indicate that the term *kallu* as name for some sort of ritual expert existed before the beginning of the present kallu institution. According to a few accounts there have been so-called *warra ayana*, people of ayana, who preceded the present kallu. These may refer to an older designation of him and his followers. A kallu's minimal lineage is still sometimes called *warra ayana*.

Among the literary sources on eastern Macha the writings of Tutschek⁴, Cecchi⁵ and Cerulli⁶ contain information of some interest. Tutschek obtained his material, which is the earliest known to me, from a certain Akafede Dalle, a native of Hambo (Ambo) in Liban. He had originally been captured

⁴ Tutschek 1845.

⁵ Cecchi 1885/87, part II.

⁶ Cerulli 1922. Cerulli 1930/33 is too late to be of interest in this context.

by slave-traders and taken to Egypt, where sometime in 1836 or 1837 he and several other slaves were bought and freed by Duke Maximilian of Bavaria and brought to Munich. Karl Tutschek, at that time tutor to Prince Louis at the Bavarian court, was in 1839 entrusted with the education of the former slaves. Starting from Akafede's information and assisted by three other Gallas, one from Guma and one from Goma, Tutschek wrote a grammar of the Galla language and a shorter Galla-German, German-Galla dictionary which was published in 1844. The following year it appeared in English translation. Both editions were published by Karl Tutschek's brother, as he himself died before finishing his work. Naturally his book is incomplete. There are certainly errors owing to the fact that his informants had for many years lived far away from their native milieu. One must also remember that they were being given a European education by Tutschek while they served as his informants, and that their youth when they were carried away tends to decrease the value of their information. Despite these weaknesses it is most interesting to note how Tutschek under the guidance of his informants apperceives and translates several of the ritual terms we have been discussing here. Ayana is thus given four main translations. The first is "solemn", "holy", and "holy-day." The second meaning emphasized is "soul," after which, however, he places a question mark. His third translation is "guardian angel." In this connection he mentions the compound form "*ayani aba*." The fourth meaning of the word ayana is to be found in two derivative terms, "*ayanditcha*—a kind of priest, particl. oneirocritic" (interpreter of dreams), and *ayantu* which, apparently because of the feminine suffix—*tu*, he translates as "female priestess of the same kind."⁷

Under the head word "priest" he writes:

"There are the following kinds of priests: *ayanditcha*.i.px. partic. oneirocritic, from *ayana*, holy.—2. *azgari*.n.ox. (?)—3. *calu*.n.px. and a spec. from *calitcha*.i.px. fem. *caliti*.n.ox.—4. *djila*.i.px.—5. *tchala*.n.ox. (?)"⁸

Under the head word "*cala*—to slaughter"⁹ he also lists *calu* and *calitcha*, which he obviously considers to be synonyms, and the feminine form *caliti*. These terms he translates as "a certain sort of sacrificers (men and women)." In this connection he gives the compound *zimbira calu* (the kallu's bird)¹⁰

⁷ Tutschek, op. cit., p. 8.

⁸ Tutschek, op. cit., p. 87.

⁹ Tutschek, op. cit., p. 45.

¹⁰ Cf. the myth about the birth of ayana Sullo p. 73.

which he translates as wagtail. His informants have obviously not associated *galma*¹¹ with the kallu or any other ritual expert. It is translated by Tutschek as "to be leaved, well covered with leaves." *Dalaga* according to Tutschek¹² means "to sing, but only used of the song during the sacrifice."

Tutschek's statements are not easy to interpret. It is apparent that there were ritual experts particularly attached to a cult of *ayana* in eastern Macha around 1830, the time when his informants left the region. It seems probable that this was not the same as the cult of the *ayana abba*. In contrast to the leader of the latter cult who is simply the senior member of the group at that moment, the specialist whom Tutschek calls *ayan-ditcha* had extraordinary divinatory power. We can perhaps correlate his information on this point with the oral tradition that kallus were previously called *warra ayana*. However, the term kallu obviously existed at the time of Akafede Dalle, although it was not associated with *dallaga* and *galma*, which are basic terms in the present kallu institution. The absence of such a combination does not, of course, prove anything, but it does seem reasonable to assume that, if there had then existed a kallu institution of the type we find in eastern Macha today, Tutschek's informants would have in all probability indicated the terminological connection between *galma*, *dallaga*, and *kallu*, or *ayanditcha*.

In the Galla vocabulary included in the great work "Da Zeila alla frontiere del Caffa,"¹³ Cecchi translates the word "*kallo*, n.prop." as "genio del paese: uomo o donna ispirato dal nume."¹⁴ *Kallu* he translates by "mago, indovino, stregone." In the second volume of his work¹⁵ he describes taking part in a feast November 12, 1878, at the house of an Abba Roggie near Limmu. Certain details are similar to elements in the *ayana abba* ritual, while others, such as the ecstasy and the nightly dance, remind us of essential elements in today's kallu rituals in eastern Macha. As a whole, however, it cannot be identified as a *dallaga*.

In Cerulli's text material from Macha¹⁶, most of which dates back to the last decades of the 19th century, there are several references to kallus, a number of whom are well known to the oral tradition in Macha today. Among these are Abba Buko, a kallu in Leḳa Billo who according to

¹¹ Tutschek, op. cit., p. 58.

¹² Tutschek, op. cit., p. 96.

¹³ Cecchi, 1885/87, 3 vols.

¹⁴ Cecchi, vol. III, p. 207.

¹⁵ Cecchi, op. cit., vol. II, pp. 139 ff.

¹⁶ Cerulli 1922.



Plate 1. Highland scene in eastern Macha



Plate 2. Reading the *mora*



Plate 3. *Sida* stones and traditional *galma*

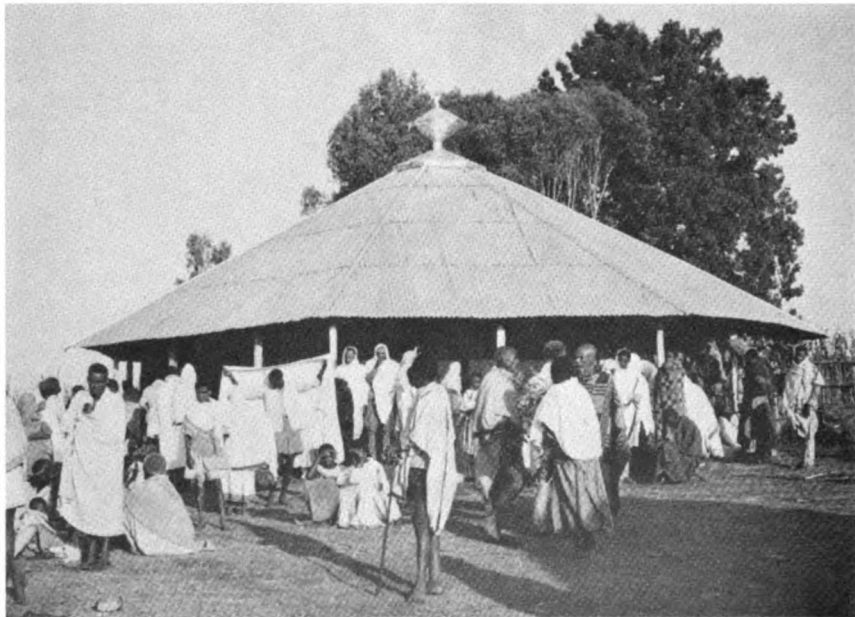


Plate 4. 'Modern' *galma*

Cerulli's text descended from heaven.¹⁷ Kallu Abba Čaffe, who is very famous in the oral tradition, and also the previously mentioned first kallu at Abebe, Jijo Gabata, appear in several of the recorded songs¹⁸. The latter's name is included in a song to Maram which is reminiscent of the hymns of praise, *jekara*, sung in her honour at the *dallaga* ceremonies. Other terms of fundamental importance in the kallu institution are also transmitted by Cerulli. Thus *ayana*, *M a r a m*, and *waka* appear in direct compounds with kallu names.¹⁹

The kallus' power of prophecy is described in special detail by Cerulli, and several examples are given of their predictions concerning the outcome of the many tribal wars that characterized the period before the conquest of Macha.²⁰

The sources used by Cerulli also included information on the meaning of *galma*, according to which it was the name for large tribal feasts recurring relatively seldom. As Cerulli describes it, there are no similarities between the *galma* feast and the kallu *dallaga* held in a *galma*.

"The *galma* is a Galla religious ceremony which is performed as follows: in each Galla tribe, there is an enclosure expressly constructed which is guarded by an elder of the tribe, called (according to Loransyos)²¹ *soi yabalo*. The tribe goes there in days of calamity to offer prayers to God which are followed by sacrifices. Those who celebrate the *galma*, which continues usually for four days, are obliged to eat all the meat of the victims. Thus they feast in the sacred enclosure. This is the rite of the *galma gabaro* . . . On the contrary, some foods, e.g., the bread of *dagussa*, . . . and the beer of *dagussa*, are forbidden during the *galma*, according to the rite of *galma borantičča*."²²

Cerulli's information, of which I have given only a few examples here, is interesting because it shows that the kallu institution observable in Macha today existed with at least some of its essential features in this region and in neighbouring parts of Tulama at the end of the 19th century. However, since most of his material refers to this relatively late period, it does not provide us with any acceptable points of departure for a study of the actual emergence and early history of the institution.

¹⁷ Cerulli, op. cit., p. 42, verse 69.

¹⁸ Cerulli, op. cit., p. 57, verse 14; p. 87; p. 133.

¹⁹ For instance Maram Giggo Gabe, p. 133, verse 29; waqó Gosu Garba, p. 133, verse 33.

²⁰ Cerulli, op. cit., p. 75, 87.

²¹ Cerulli's informant.

²² Cerulli, op. cit., p. 126 f.

II. THE KALLU AMONG THE SOUTHERN GALLA

In an attempt to sketch in the background of the kallu institution in Macha it is necessary to discuss the 'office' of the kallu in other Galla areas. Such an extension of the investigation is motivated both by the existence of the term kallu in different regions and by a number of features which the various kallu institutions have in common.

Among the Guji and the Borana the kallu is unquestionably the top ritual official. In Borana there are two 'greater' kallus, one for each of the tribe's two moieties. Furthermore, there are four 'lesser' kallus whose influence is limited to their own maximal lineages. The Guji have only one kallu, who is not only recognized by all the Guji tribes, but also by the neighbouring peoples such as the Darassa and Gidiččo. Among the Arsi too there is a kallu who is here called Abba Muda (the lord or father of the anointment). His position has diminished greatly in importance with the increasing Islamization of the Arsi tribal region, particularly of his native province Bale.

Kallu Guji and the two great kallus in Borana, Kallu Oditu and Kallu Karayu, have in common their function of supreme ritual leader and their position of adviser and ritual expert in the gada system. They possess the exclusive prerogative of legitimizing the different gada officials, when a new gada group is initiated into the politically active class. One of the most significant of their duties is the performance of the muda-ritual. This played a dominant role in the earlier contacts between the Tulama and Macha Galla on the one hand and the southern Galla on the other. To these questions I shall return later on.

The two greater moiety kallus, and three of the lesser belonging to the Mattari clan of the Sabbu moiety, are all considered to be true and legitimate kallus despite the differences in status between them and the varying sizes of their structural bases. They are frequently grouped together under the collective name *laddu šan*, the five bracelets, because of their chief ritual emblem, the 'holy' bracelet. A sixth kallu, the so-called kallu Guji in the Arussi clan, is not considered a 'true' kallu by the Borana because he lacks the *laddu*.²³

According to tradition the kallu of the Gona moiety, who belongs to the Oditu clan and, therefore, is generally referred to as Kallu Oditu, is the foremost of the two great Borana kallus. His birthplace is said to be Liban in the neighbourhood of Negelli, where the main ceremonies in

²³ Haberland 1963, p. 165.

the gada cycle are held. He has his chief residence in Arero southwest of Negelli where, according to the myth, the first Kallu Oditu was engendered by a snake.

The kallu of the Sabbu moiety who is named Kallu Karayu after his clan, has his residence in the west of Boranaland near Yavello. He is believed to have originally fallen from heaven into the present tribal area of the Guji south of Agramaryam.

Between the two chief kallus there is an avoidance relation. They may not set foot on each other's territory. If they should meet, they are not permitted to look each other in the eye; nor are they allowed to spend the night in the same village. Similar rules apply to their relations with the lesser kallus and to the latter's contacts with each other. Along with this antagonism, which we, like Haberland,²⁴ may with good reason describe as a ritualized expression of the relation between the two moieties, the equality of the two kallus is sometimes emphasized. Thus *abba gada* with his officials pays visits to both kallus during the chief gada ritual, the *muda*.

After the incorporation into the Ethiopian Empire, the positions of the two moiety kallu have been greatly strengthened. The Amharic-Ethiopian administration took them to be tribal chieftains and, in accordance with its principles for the administration of the new regions, appointed them *balabatts* with the title of *fitawrari*. This attempt to turn them into regional chieftains was unsuccessful, however, for the simple reason that their traditional authority was limited to their own moieties, the members of which do not constitute local groupings but are scattered all over Boranaland.

During the Ethiopian period the two offices—the ritual and the administrative—have often been divided so that he who on genealogical grounds is destined to become kallu retains the ritual functions, while another member of the family, usually a brother, receives the political office.²⁵

The central administration's reluctance to give the *abba gada* any part in the system of local administration has doubtless been due—apart from ignorance of Borana's social organization—to the temporary limited nature of his leadership during the eight years when his gada group occupies the ruling gada-grade. The kallu, whose office is hereditary, fulfils far better the administration's requirement of continuity. This fundamental

²⁴ Haberland, op. cit., p. 155.

²⁵ cf. Haberland, op. cit., p. 156.

difference between the two main traditional offices in Borana has probably conduced to tip the tribal balance of power in the kallu's favour. Another active factor in increasing the latter's influence, as Haberland points out, has been the large number of Boranas excluded from active participation in the gada system because of the discrepancy between biological reproduction and the gada's stipulation of a 40 year interval between the initiations of fathers and sons. These *ilman jarsa*, the sons of old men, as they are called, consider the kallu their actual, or at least most immediate, authority.²⁶

A Borana kallu is required to have at least two wives. One of these is a profane wife called *haḍa warra* and one a ritual wife with the title of *kalitti*.²⁷ It is always the first wife who becomes the *haḍa warra* and the second who is called *kalitti*. The kalluship is inherited by the eldest son of the latter.²⁸ The genealogies both of Kallu Oditu and of Kallu Karayu indicate, however, that the brother of a deceased kallu frequently succeeds to the position, which then after his death reverts to the son of the first kallu and his *kalitti*.

Kallu Oditu

According to the myth, Kallu Oditu, who is the senior and ritually most important of the two, is descended from a snake, *bofa*, and a Borana girl from the sub-clan Emaji in the Digalu clan of the Sabbu moiety. According to another version, this mythical kallu, who bears the name Bofiččo, fell to earth from the sky.

After Bofiččo, the Gona-moiety's kallu list is as follows:²⁹

Doyo	Bofiččo's son. "Doch waren zwischen ihm und Bofiččo viele," says Haberland. ³⁰
Golgo Doyo	Doyo's son
Anna Golgo	Golgo's son

²⁶ cf. Haberland, op. cit., loc. cit.

²⁷ Compare with the name of the kallu's wife in Macha.

²⁸ There are exceptions. According to Haberland (p. 164), a future kallu must be born on a special day particularly associated with the kallu and his institution.

²⁹ Haberland, p. 158, has a somewhat different genealogy. After Guyo Hodo, he lists Dasse, Boru, Anna, Tuto, and Alaka. However, since he has not explained the relations between the different kallus, it is impossible to check his information. We can, nevertheless, state that he omits Gula Guyo and in another connection (p. 543) has been wrongly informed about Boru Guyo (see discussion below on Abba Muda).

³⁰ Haberland op. cit., loc. cit.

Hodo (el Iddo) Anna	Anna's son
Guyo Hodo	Hodo's son
Boru Guyo	Guyo's son
Gula Guyo	Boru Guyo's brother
Anna Boru	Boru Guyo's son
Tuto Anna	Anna's son
Alaka Anna	Tuto Anna's brother
Kura Tuto	Tuto Anna's son, the present Kallu Oditu, about 12 years old in 1963.

Besides the four bracelets, the *laddu*, of which the originals were stolen in 1948 by the Guji, Kallu Oditu's insignia are the phallic forehead decoration *kalača*, the *ororo*, a phallic staff, and a pearl necklace. When he officiates, he wears the *rufa*, a bluish black head-cloth wound like a turban. The *rufa* is worn only by the kallu and members of the ruling class in the gada system. Nowadays the stolen bracelets are replaced by a broad ivory ring decorated with a metal plate. Like the other kallus in Borana, he shaves the back of his head except for a tuft of hair, the *gutu*. He is subject to many taboos which limit his consumption of food and drink and his contact with other people. He must never kill under any but ritual circumstances. Like the other kallus, he has snakes which he keeps in a leather sack in his house. Those houses in his compound that are used, or built to be temporarily used, as ritual houses for different ceremonies are known as *galma*.

Kallu Karayu

The first Kallu Karayu was called, according to the myth, Hurrati Daga which means "he came from a cloud of mist" or "he fell from the cloud." The name refers to his heavenly origin. On this point the Borana myth is strikingly similar to the myth about Abebe's first kallu who was engendered in a hailstorm and was first possessed by ayana enveloped in a cloud of mist. The first Kallu Karayu brought with him the same ritual symbols as the Kallu Oditu. The myth describes how he was first discovered by some *wata*,³¹ and after a time was appropriated by the Borana. The relation between kallu and *wata* expressed in the myth is

³¹ *Wata* or *weyto* is a general Ethiopian name for the wandering groups of hippopotamus hunters who live mainly around the great lakes. In many respects their position is that of outcasts.

still emphasized in several contexts. Thus it is always a *wata* who tends the fire in Kallu Karayu's house.³³

In one respect Kallu Karayu has an exceptional position in comparison to the other Borana kallus, and to all other Boranas for that matter, as he chooses his wife from his own moiety.

Haberland gives us considerable information about the Kallu Karayu and his lineage, but his material is obscure on some points. His account of the genealogy,³³ for instance, does not agree with the genealogical chart that he presents.³⁴ I shall not enter into a discussion of these discrepancies here, however. Both Haberland's notes and my own information support the assumption that the office of kallu relatively seldom passes straight from father to son. As the line of the Kallu Oditu shows, it has in Karayu often gone first to the brother of a deceased kallu and then returned to the original line. It is evident from what we know about the most recent generations of the Karayu kallus that this type of succession is intimately related to the rivalry between a kallu's brothers. The situation following the Karayu kallu Ghedo's death represents a typical case. His marriage with a *kalitti* had been late, and, therefore, at the time of Ghedo's death in 1938 the 'legitimate' kallu pretender Gollo was only some few years old. One of Ghedo's sons by his *haḍa warra*, the profane wife, was then installed as kallu but died after a few years. Later an arrangement was made by which another of the elder sons of the profane wife, Dambalo, became kallu while the Central Government gave still another, Galgalo, the title of *fitawrari* and appointed him governor of a smaller district in Borana. Since Dambalo's death, Galgalo is also acting as kallu.

The three lesser kallu in the Mattari clan and the so-called Kallu Guji in the Arussi clan are, as I have already mentioned, only important in their own lineages. A description of them here will not add any information essential to my presentation of the main features of the kallu institution among the Borana.

Kallu Guji

Kallu Guji, who is the only kallu among the tribes of the Guji confederation, has a theoretically stronger position than the two kallus of the Borana. He is recognized as ritual head not only by his own tribe Alabdu-Guji but also by the southern tribes Uraga, Mati, and Hoku, and, in addition, by

³³ Haberland, op. cit., p. 159 f.

³³ Haberland, op. cit., p. 160.

³⁴ Haberland, op. cit., p. 162.

Otu and Selo who have broken away from the Guji. His prestige extends beyond these Galla groups and has given him ritual importance among the Darassa, who live on the western slopes of the Borana plateau, and among the Gidiččo, the island population in Lake Marguerita. The decline of the gada system among the Guji has contributed, according to Haberland, to give him an almost monarchical position, especially among his own tribal group, the Alabdu.³⁵

The myth of Kallu Guji's origin emphasizes his affinity with the heavens from which he once fell to earth. It states clearly that he is Waka's son. His chief insignia, like those of the Borana kallus, are the *kalača* and the bracelet, although the latter is not considered as 'sacred' as the *laddu* in Borana. Snakes play a prominent role in his ritual. His house is called *galma* and has lent its name to the environs of his present place of residence on the west slope of the Sidamo highlands toward the plains around Lake Marguerita in the region of Dabobesa. His daily life is encompassed by many and strict taboos. Like the kallu in Macha, he may not partake of any food or drink prepared outside his own household, and he may not spend the night in other people's houses.

In the early 1950's political rivalry, which Haberland describes in detail,³⁶ had somewhat curtailed his influence, but despite this his blessing and counsel are still sought by large groups from the tribes that recognize him.

III. ABBA MUDA

In any survey of the kallu's position in different parts of the Ethiopian Gallaland it is necessary to include the traditions concerning the pilgrimages to Abba Muda.

Many of the authors who have written on the Galla during the last 100 years have reported on the Abba Muda. These notes do not agree in every detail with one another or with the oral traditions that I collected during my field work. They are, however, strikingly congruent as regards the general pattern of the pilgrimages.

The earliest report on Abba Muda was given by d'Abbadie³⁷ who got his information mainly among the Guduru in northwestern Macha where he was staying around 1845. According to him, the pilgrims, *jila*, leave their home region in June and return from their pilgrimage to "Walal"

³⁵ Haberland, op. cit., p. 302 f.

³⁶ Haberland, op. cit., p. 303 f.

³⁷ d'Abbadie 1880, p. 181 f.

the following year.²⁸ After starting their journey, they do not cut their hair or their nails. While they are absent, their wives do not put oil on their hair and eat only such bread as they have baked themselves. On returning, the *jila* receive gifts and are on the whole considered to represent "un bien mystérieux" for the tribe.

Cecchi²⁹ gives an account of corresponding phenomena among the southern Macha around Jimma during the 1870's. He describes Abba Muda as a "soothsayer" who lives in a grotto with great snakes. He is also said to be the leader of a "pastoral" tribe. The place where he lives is called, according to Cecchi's informants, Ualabri. The journey to Abba Muda is made partly to honour him and partly to receive his blessing and anointment, which qualify the pilgrims for ritual functions in their own home region. Only those who have committed no serious crimes may make the journey to Ualabri. Thus they must under no circumstances have killed anyone, or practised robbery or slave hunting. They must be married and circumcised. This means that they must have undergone the *butta* ceremony and thereby completed their 40 year participation in the gada system. During the journey they are said to be dressed as women and to receive food from women. They wear their hair cut short and bear no weapons. As an offering to Abba Muda they bring a bull, and as a sign of their peaceful intentions they drive a sheep. When they reach Abba Muda, the pilgrim's leader offers food to the snake that guards Abba Muda's grotto. After communal prayers, Abba Muda anoints the *jilas* and give them myrrh. He commands them not to cut their hair and to be righteous, not to recognize any leader who tries to get absolute power, and not to fight among themselves.

Guidi recounts a tradition passed on to him by an Amhara who had lived for a long time among the southern Tulama Galla.

"The Galla have a custom called 'jila'. This exists among the Galan, the Genbiču, the Abeču and almost all the Galla tribes . . . They become *jila* in accordance with the following rules: They journey to Abba Muda in Borana, for it is he who confers the rank of *jila* upon them . . . Each man carries a stick. They travel in groups of a hundred or two hundred and spend their nights in the forest. From the day they leave their homes until they return they do not sleep indoors. And during their absence their wives sleep on the floor and not in bed. While on journey they do not cross two rivers, whatever their size, on the same day. If they meet robbers, these do them no harm

²⁸ It is not clear here whether he means European or Ethiopian years. In the latter case the absence is one of about four months, in the former of seven months.

²⁹ Cecchi 1885/87, vol. II, pp. 30 ff.

but show them only reverence. When they come to Abba Muda they are received with marks of honour and questioned about their laws. He gives them myrrh and a plant called *abayo*. Thereafter he performs the anointment according to the participant's seniority in the gada system. It is this which underlies the significance of Abba Muda's name of 'father of the anointment'. When they return home, their behaviour is as follows: They let their hair grow long, and anoint it with butter without shaving their heads; they do not carry spears but only sticks; they take no part in war expeditions. They neither plow nor hoe the soil; they do not steal the cattle of others; they do not speak lies; they do not take part in councils which deal with evil things (war) but only in those that deal with peaceful things. The myrrh which they get from Abba Muda they keep in their houses and use as a bride price to the fathers of the girls whom they wish to marry."⁴⁰

De Salviac⁴¹ relates of the eastern Galla that they made expeditions to Muda. The Harar Galla journeyed to a place called Mormoro, while the others went to Wolabu at the foot of Mount Walal.

According to Cerulli,⁴² the journeys to Abba Muda by Tulama Galla had become rare at the end of the 1920's. He had, however, no difficulty in getting information about the wandering *jila*. Of special interest is a tradition which he reports from the Gombiççu Galla. Whoever wishes to take part in a pilgrimage to Abba Muda first shaves his head leaving only a tuft on the top—the same coiffure as a small boy. Women are not allowed to participate in the expedition, and sexual abstinence is required during two weeks before the departure, as well as during the entire journey. When they reach Abba Muda's residence, they are submitted to various tests. Thereafter, the *muda* ceremony—the anointment—begins. This takes place according to the participating groups' positions in their tribal genealogy. After their return to their homes, the pilgrims receive the title of *jila*. As a sign of their elevation, they plant a sycamore. As *jila* they avoid contact with everything connected with weapons and warfare.

In a few traditions the individual name of the Abba Muda is given. An oral tradition from the Gulale Galla in Schoa recorded by Haberland thus states that the *jila* journeyed to a Boru Guyo.⁴³ Traditions among the Ammaya, which I have collected, give two names for Abba Muda: Boru Guyo and Abba Guyo. Boru Guyo is probably identical with the

⁴⁰ Guidi, 1907, pp. 177 ff. Huntingford's translation, 1955, p. 85.

⁴¹ de Salviac 1901, p. 152.

⁴² Cerulli 1930, p. 60.

⁴³ Haberland 1963, p. 543. In his discussion of this account Haberland misspells the name and states: "Die Borana kennen weder einen kallu Guyo Boru noch . . ." In fact there is a Boru Guyo, son of Guyo Hodo, in the genealogy of Kallu Oditu.

already mentioned Kallu Oditu. The name Abba Guyo may refer to his son Anna Boru who was kallu for a very long time and was installed in his office before the Amhara conquered Borana. He was best known by the name Abba Guyo, father of Guyo, after his eldest son Guyo.

Among the Galan in Tulama I have recorded an *eba*—a long prayer annually said at the *irresa* feast at the time of the Ethiopian New Year. Among other things it contains a list of epithets added to waka's name. He is addressed as waka of the mountains, of the rivers, of the heavenly bodies, of the tribes, and of various social institutions. He is also called: waka Abba Muda, Waka Boru Guyo Waka Anna Boru."

To make a critical evaluation of these traditions it is necessary to find out what actually takes place in the *muda* ceremonies still performed in Borana. As these are held only every eighth year, I was not able to observe any during my stay in Ethiopia and I, therefore, have to make use once again of Haberland's material which contains the following account:

"Since Kallu Oditu's muda place is in Oda a day's journey northward from Nura, the members of the Gona moiety led by abba gada arbore go there bringing with them the calves . . . which they will give to the kallu. They are accompanied by members of other gada classes who help them to drive the animals. The same sacredness (Heiligkeit) described in the literary sources about the pilgrimage from the western Galla still today characterizes this expedition among the Borana. Unarmed they wander through the land of their mortal enemies, the Guji. These are now living in Oda but allow the pilgrims to pass unimpeded . . . Just as it was formerly for all pilgrims from all tribes it is still forbidden to bring spears, weapons and articles of iron with the exception of sacrificial knives.

"Kallu Oditu who has already stayed for some time in Oda has built there a large ritual house (galma) . . . The pilgrims reach Oda in the evening. They wait until all the calves that they have brought have arrived, whereupon they drive them into the kallu's kraal. Thereafter they proceed singing to the ritual house where the kallu awaits them with his wife, kalitti, at his side. The kallu has wrapped his head in a lion's mane on which he has fastened two kalača. He is treated with the utmost reverence and no one dares to raise his eyes to him. All take places as though they were seeking to hide from him. It is said: *ayāna gūdda inkāba, gāra inkāba*—'he has great magic power, he is like a mountain.'⁴⁴ With his curse he can destroy those who 'stay outside', i.e.,

⁴⁴ This is probably a mistranslation by Haberland. *Gara inkāba* means that he has *gara* (midriff, i.e. personality). In this context it probably means that he has a special character superior to others. In my opinion it is also misleading to translate *ayana* as magic power. It means simply that he has a powerful *ayana* (guardian divinity) who gives him power and character. This, of course, does not mean that he has *ayana* in the same sense as the kallu in Macha.

refuse to visit him. The pilgrims are generously entertained with meat and honey wine and pass the night dancing and feasting. Early the next morning they pass in long rows before the kallu who has again put on the lion's mane. At this time they receive the holy myrrh (kúmbi) and the kallu spits upon them with masticated myrrh and blesses them. 'May you get plenty of cattle and children, may you live happily and have long lives, etc. . . .'⁴⁵

According to Haberland⁴⁶ old Borana still recall that Galla from other tribes came to take part in the *muda* ceremony. They were called by the Borana "*Hawaso*"—those who come from Awaš, the river that forms the border between Tulama and Arsi. Most of the Tulama tribes, and also Nonno (Macha), Karayu, and Ittu were mentioned to Haberland. They were said to visit both Kallu Oditu and Kallu Karayu.

Existing information on *muda* pilgrimages to an Abba Muda in south-eastern Arussi (the present Bali) agree, in the main with the literary sources I have quoted and with Haberland's description. Here, as in Borana, the pilgrimage to Abba Muda was the most important ritual before the members of the reigning gada group went into the system's second, passive half. Some statements are particularly interesting. According to Cerulli,⁴⁷ Abba Muda is called Wayu Guračča, which is identical with the name of the first man in the Arsi's myths of their origin. Malizia⁴⁸ states that this place of residence was also called Wolabo, a name that recurs constantly in accounts of the *jila* journeys from the north and the west.

IV. CONNECTIONS WITH OTHER RITUAL COMPLEXES IN ETHIOPIA

An ecstatic ritual technique and possession phenomena are quite common in many ritual contexts in Ethiopia. I do not intend to describe in detail any such cult or speculate about possible connections between the Macha kallu and other ecstatic ritual specialists. My sole aim is to indicate some essential aspects of the general cultural atmosphere of Ethiopia which have not been without effect on the Macha and their kallu.

In both Orthodox Christian and Islamic milieus, as in many sections where tribal religious tradition still predominates, one can find ecstatic ritual complexes. These may differ greatly from one another in the matter of content and terminology, but from a ritual technical point of view they have much in common. The perhaps most famous of these complexes

⁴⁵ Haberland 1963, pp. 214 ff.

⁴⁶ Haberland, op. cit., p. 216.

⁴⁷ Cerulli 1932, p. 143.

⁴⁸ Malizia 1938, p. 1362.

is the so-called *zar* cult, which is nowadays widespread in most of Ethiopia, especially in cities and towns. The word *zar* is identical in meaning with the Agaw term for heaven and the divinity of heaven. It may also be compared to similar terms among other Cushitic peoples, for instance, *yero* among the Kaffiço and *jar* among the Bilen. In modern Amharic it means a possessing 'spirit', usually regarded as vexatious or evil. This is also true of the Somali term *sar* and the Hadiya *jara*. The Galla *jari* stands for a suprahuman being, above all the one attached to the hearth and home.

The term *zar*, perhaps disseminated by Ethiopian slaves, has come to be applied to phenomena of possession throughout large parts of the Near East. The conception of a pantheon of possessing powers arranged in hierarchies with ruling and serving spirits is characteristic of the *zar* cult in Ethiopia. Judged by their names, these spirits have both Christian, Islamic, and tribal origins. One possessed by a *zar* is subject to his will. The *zar* is believed to be in constant need of gifts and sacrifices, which the medium tries to secure by various means from the people in his immediate vicinity. The frequency of the possessions, which may occur spontaneously or may be induced by ecstatic ritual, dance, drumming, and the chewing of *ḥat*, is often high.

In general the *zar* cult is considered in the societies where it occurs to be a non-traditional, 'lower', and not seldom antisocial type of ritual. It has expanded during the last decades and appears to be particularly common and intense in cities and towns and correspondingly weaker in purely tribal communities. Some regions, for instance, Borana, are still almost entirely untouched by these phenomena. Although there as yet have been no detailed studies of the sociological significance of the *zar* ritual,⁴⁹ its expansion seems to be closely connected with the increasing detribalization and the cultural syncretism that has been one of the results of the Ethiopization process that has followed the introduction of the 'pax amharica'.

There are several parallels between Macha's *kallu* institution and the *zar* complex:⁵⁰ possession, the individualization of Divinity into different

⁴⁹ The studies that have been made of the *zar* complex, with the exception of Messing's article on *zar* cults in Gondar (Messing 1958), have concentrated far too much on the various 'spirits' in the *zar*'s pantheon. Because of this, we as yet know little about the functional aspects and the place of the possession cults in their social context.

⁵⁰ For a more detailed discussion of the *zar* complex see, besides Messing's article, Haberland 1960 and 1963, pp. 505 ff. and Leiris 1958.

possessing powers, the ecstatic ritual technique. Even terminologically there are connections between them. *Wadaja*, which together with *dallaga* is used as a name for the kallu ceremonies in Macha, also occurs among the Amhara and Tigre to designate a *zar* seance.

Both complexes include similar conceptions of the nature of suprahuman reality and of the existence of a multitude of possessing powers. *Atete* and *Maram*, for instance, are names of such powers in the *zar* cult.

The differences, however, are important. To me it seems that the distinction between them is perhaps not so much an ideological as a social one. In comparison with the pronouncedly individualistic and often 'anti-social' *zar* cult, the kallu institution that I have described is socially well established and integrated. The opposition between the two ritual systems deriving from this social difference is sometimes strong enough to be termed antagonism. Thus I have observed kallus in eastern Macha who act as exorcists of *zar* which they considered evil and destructive.

It would also be of interest to investigate phenomena resembling the kallu among the peoples close to Macha who have been living there since before the Galla invasion. Unfortunately, the existing material is again too poor to make any detailed comparison possible. The most interesting account in this respect is that given by Bieber of the Kaffa. According to him, Kaffa's ritual praxis was characterized by the cult of "*eqqo*".⁶¹ These were suprahuman spirits connected with natural phenomena. They were believed to be able to leave their dwelling places in trees and rivers and to possess people. Then they spoke through the person's mouth and could answer prayers and predict the future. Those who were possessed in this way formed what amounted to a priest class. Each priest had his special method for bringing about the incarnation of "*eqqo*." Drumming, dance, and song were usual means for achieving ecstasy. When this culminated in possession, the visitors presented their questions, which were answered by the *eqqo* priest through a colleague who interpreted his speech and behaviour.

Besides the ritual complexes of which I have given examples above, the kallu institution in Macha and the Orthodox church of Ethiopia undoubtedly also have analogous features. Among the most important of these are the frequency of the kallu rituals, the fixed intervals between them, and also the fact that they take place on Saturdays and Sundays. The dedication of a kallu's *galma* to a special ayana resembles the associa-

⁶¹ Bieber 1923, pp. 344 ff.

tion of Orthodox churches with individual saints. Each kallu holds once a year a special feast for his chief ayana, a custom directly recalling the annual celebration of a saint's day at a church. It should be emphasized, however, that these similarities are mainly 'external' and must not be considered to represent any deeper ideological or functional comparability.

The superficial observations I have made here concerning possible connections with other Ethiopian ritual complexes are, of course, wholly insufficient for any thorough comparison. They should, however, suffice to illustrate the syncretistic trait which, despite what I have previously said about its traditional background, is an important ingredient in the Macha kallu institution. Because of it the kallu plays indirectly a role in the process of the Ethiopization of a traditionally tribal culture.

V. SUMMARY

On the basis of the information presented it is possible to establish the following facts:

Among the Borana and Guji there has been and still is a kallu institution which, although forming part of a different social system, has much in common with the kallu institution we find in Macha today. In both regions there are significant similarities in the kallu mythology, which represents him as coming from heaven. According to the Guji myth, the first kallu is to be considered the son of waka. This is also implied by the myth about Jijo Gabata's birth in Macha. The many terminological similarities and the correspondence of significant symbols and of ritual instruments in the two contexts are important too. Thus the kallu's ritual house in both regions is called *galma*. The bracelets of copper or silver are the chief insignia of the Macha kallu as the four *laddu* are of the Borana kallu. In Borana the phallic *kalača* does not belong only to the kallu but is also an important symbol in the gada system where it is worn by the leaders of the ruling gada class and by members of the last class in the system, the *gadamoji*. In Macha each clan kallu has a *kalača* which is connected above all with the cult of the kallu's male ayana. It is also owned by descendants of former gada officials and by those who have reached the rank of *gula*.

The taboo systems encompassing the kallu institution in the two regions show many correspondences. This similarity in itself does not necessarily imply a connection, since it can easily be explained as the result of a common technique for separating a ritual institution from other parts of the society.

The most striking dissimilarities, aside from differences caused by discrepant structural contexts, are to be found in the ritual techniques employed by the two types of institutions. Possession and ecstasy are entirely unknown to the *kallu* of the southern Galla but constitute the predominant features of the Macha institution.

On the basis of the existing literary sources and of collected oral traditions it can be established that the central and western tribes have made *muda*-pilgrimages to the southern Galla. It is probable that the *jila* visited several of the great *kallus*, such as Arsi's Abba Muda in Wollabo and the Sabbu moiety's Kallu Karayu in western Borana. The material presented enables us to state with certainty that expeditions were made to the Kallu Oditu of the Gona moiety.

The significance of these contacts is difficult to estimate today. It is apparent that they declined during the latter part of the 19th century as a result of the increasing political disintegration of Tulama and above all of Macha Galla. They seem to have ceased entirely around the turn of the century. For this the policy of the Ethiopian government was partly responsible. It obviously considered the Galla intertribal contacts a threat to the rapidly expanding and at that time far from consolidated empire.

Among the Borana *muda* pilgrimages are still made. In 1953 or 1954 there were similar expeditions among the western Arsi.⁵² In the case of the Arsi, the traditions from the Abba Muda expeditions seem to have been partly transferred after Islamization to pilgrimages to Šek Hussen whose sanctuary is also in Bali. A corresponding transfer of *muda* tradition to Moslem forms of pilgrimage may also have taken place among the Islamized Galla in the former Gibe states.⁵³

Whatever may have been the ritual and political implications of these journeys to Abba Muda, it is interesting to note that the emergence of the *kallu* institution as we find it in Macha today seems to coincide in time with a weakening of the contacts between the Macha and the southern regions from which they once had come and which they regarded as their ritual centre. We may further note that the expansion and consolidation of the Macha *kallu* institution took place at a time when contacts with the great *kallus* in the south were entirely broken off. Increased inter-cultural communication, especially after the complete pacification of Macha, has certainly also been important in furthering the kind of ritual innovation that the *kallu* institution represents.

⁵² Haberland, op. cit., p. 470.

⁵³ Cerulli 1930 p. 98.

VII

ORGANIZATIONS OF AUTHORITY

I. INTRODUCTION

So far I have described the organization and functions of the *kallu* institution and the socio-cultural context in which it exists. The intracultural comparative material discussed in the last chapter served mainly to broaden the background against which the Macha *kallu* as a ritual expert must be seen. On some points, however, the discussion touched problems relating to his emergence in Macha. Thus there obviously exists a correlation in time between the weakening of inter-Galla communication and the expansion of the ecstatic *kallu* institution. From now on I intend to examine questions of this latter type; in other words I am shifting my interest from synchronic aspects to the diachronic dimension of my problem.

In order to create a basis for a subsequent analysis of the process that led to the birth and expansion of the *kallu* institution, I would like first to outline what is known about Galla history from the period of the invasion.

The first documents giving information about the Galla stem from the 16th and early 17th centuries. The so-called Paris Chronicle¹ which covers the contacts between the Galla and the Ethiopian state up to 1729 and the Arabic source, *Futuh al Habash*, the conquest of Ethiopia,² contain reports from the time of the Galla invasion of Ethiopia. *Historia Regis Sarsa Dengel*, which has been translated and published by Conti Rossini,³ is also an important source for the events in and after the middle of the 16th century. For later periods there are, among others, the chronicles of the kings Johannes I, Iyasu I, and Bakaffa,⁴ and *The Royal Chronicle of Abyssinia 1769-1840* published by H. W. Blundell.⁵ We find valuable information also in Almeida's history.⁶

¹ Basset, R., 1881.

² Chihab ed-din Ahmed ben 'Abd el-Qader, 1897.

³ Rossini, C., 1907.

⁴ Guidi, I., 1903, 1905.

⁵ Blundell, H. W., 1922.

⁶ Almeida, (written 1628-43) in Beckingham and Huntingford 1954.

By far the most noteworthy source for the earliest period, however, is not one of those mentioned. It is instead a small book by an Ethiopian cleric named Bahrey.⁷ There are a number of reasons for its special position. In the first place Bahrey seems to have been the only reporter who had the opportunity to observe the invading Galla at close range. He was a priest or monk in the Orthodox Church and a native of Gamo in southern Ethiopia. He was, therefore, living close to the region from which the Galla apparently made their first larger attacks on central Ethiopia, and he was himself exposed to their attack and plundering. Bahrey's notes, aside from their historical interest, are of great anthropological value. His account of the gada system, which he is the first to describe, and his attempts to explain the success of the Galla by comparing their social organization with that of Abyssinia show a genuine sociological curiosity.

From a critical point of view Bahrey is an exceptional source on Galla history. As a representative of the Abyssinian side in the struggle against the Galla, he naturally has a bias. But in comparison with the Ethiopian royal chroniclers, this seems restrained. The royal chroniclers are mainly concerned with recounting in detail the Abyssinian victories over the Galla. Bahrey, on the other hand, mentions the Abyssinian triumphs as none too consoling occurrences in the series of Galla victories, and he is obviously critical of his own people and their way of conducting the defense.

Bahrey's knowledge of the Galla class system constitutes the basis for his account of the invasion era. He describes it in the following way:

"They have neither king nor master like other peoples, but they obey the *luba*⁸ during a period of eight years; at the end of the eight years another *luba* is made, and the first gives up his office. They do this at fixed times; and *luba* means 'those who are circumcised at the same time'. As to the law concerning their circumcision, it is thus: when a *luba* is formed, all the Baraytuma and Boran give themselves a collective name, just as the king of Ethiopia's regiments call themselves by names like *Sellus hayle*, 'the Trinity is my strength' . . ."⁹

"These five *lubas* which we have mentioned exercised power for a period of forty years; their children were not circumcised.¹⁰ Those who were not circumcised abandoned their children both boys and girls, for such is their custom;

⁷ Published in English by Beckingham and Huntingford 1954.

⁸ *Luba* is still used in Borana as an alternative term for *gogesa* or *missenaa*, i.e., a gada group. In Tulama and Macha the term signifies the ruling or part of the ruling gada-class.

⁹ Beckingham and Huntingford, op. cit., p. 115.

¹⁰ In contrast to the custom of the Christian Abyssinians.

but after being circumcised they reared the boys, though the girls were still abandoned for two or three years after they had been circumcised."

"After these five *lubas* had ruled, the sons of Melbah (the first) were circumcised and received the name of Harmufa."¹¹

In the account of the *luba* Mulata which was in power when Bahrey wrote his history, he says that

"he (the *luba*) made a *dulaguto* or raid into Gojam . . . For the Galla give themselves a name at the time when they are circumcised as we have said at the end of Chapter 4, and they attack a country, which none of their predecessors have attacked. If they have killed men or large animals they shave the whole head leaving a little hair in the middle of the skull."¹²

In addition to this general information, Bahrey also gives an account of work specialization within the *gada* system which I cannot repeat here in detail. The important conclusion to be drawn from his information is that the Galla, at the time of the invasion of Ethiopia and during at least the first part of the expansion, had a class system that, even if not common to the whole 'nation', apparently gave a certain homogeneity to each of the two main groups, the Barentu and the Borana.

Bahrey's information about the age at which circumcision was performed is not entirely clear. It is obvious, however, that it was carried out at an adult age, that before it some form of birth control was practised and that it preceded the *dulaguto*, the war expedition undertaken by a *gada* class. These notes agree fairly well with what we know about the *gada* system in Borana in more recent times. According to the *gada* rules in Borana, a man may not keep the children he has begotten until he has entered the fifth class, *dori*, 32 years after his initiation into the first class.¹³ In Borana circumcision takes place before the actual entrance into the fifth class and is followed by *dulaguto*, big game hunts or, before the pacification, raids against other tribes. In both cases the main purpose is to kill and thereby acquire the highest prestige possible for a man to win.¹⁴

According to Bahrey, Melbah was the name of the *luba* in whose time Bali was invaded. Since the information about later eight year periods refers to historical events that can be dated, the period of Melbah in all

¹¹ Beckingham and Huntingford, op. cit., p. 118.

¹² Beckingham and Huntingford, op. cit., p. 122.

¹³ Haberland 1963, p. 178 f. As far as I know this rule is no longer in effect.

¹⁴ It is tempting to regard the Galla expansion during the 16th century, when according to Bahrey each new *luba* invaded a region not previously attacked, as an extension of the *dulaguto* raids which were part of the *gada* system.

likelihood covered the years 1523–30 (+one to two years). It was followed by Mudana, 1531–38, which led the expansion over the Wabi River.¹⁵ The third, Kilole, 1539–46, like the fourth, Bifole, 1547–54, continued to press towards the northeast. During the time of the fifth invading *luba*, Mesle, 1555–62, the Galla's invasion technique, according to Bahrey, changed. After having withdrawn to their tribal land in the south after every greater advance, they now began to stay on in the conquered regions. During the Mesle period, they started to use horses in imitation of the Abyssinians. From the middle of the 16th century on, the attacks became longer and bolder. The sixth invading *luba* was Harmufa among the Barentu and Dulu among the Borana, 1563–70. This *luba* was recruited from the sons of Melbah. During this time Abyssinia itself was invaded and the Galla penetrated all the way into Begemeder. During the next eight year period when the ruling *luba*, Robale, 1571–78, was made up of Mudana's sons, the Abyssinians led by Sarsa Dengel had some successes and on several occasions defeated the invading Galla.¹⁶ These victories, however, did not change the situation as a whole, and the eighth *luba*, Birmaji, 1579–86, among the eastern Galla, continued the pressure against central Ethiopia, while the same *luba* among the Borana established control over the present Tulama and Macha regions. When Bahrey ends his description, it was according to his own account the seventh year of the ninth *luba*, Mulata, 1587–94,¹⁷ and Mesle's sons were preparing to enter the *luba* grade 40 years after their fathers.

In addition to the notes on the class system and the historical information, Bahrey also transmits a picture of a basically segmentary structure exposed to a continuous fusion-fission process. Thus he writes about the Tulama:

"Originally their custom was to set out together to war, but after a long period of time they quarreled among themselves and separated, as did Abraham and Lot . . ."¹⁸

And, after having reckoned the different Macha tribes, he observes:

"All these when they are allied they are called Mača; but when they make

¹⁵ Perhaps Wabi Shabelle in mid-Bali.

¹⁶ Basset 1881, p. 117.

¹⁷ Beckingham's and Huntingford's dating of Bahrey's book to 1593 can probably be accepted as reasonable within the same limits of +1 to 2 years that I indicated above for the different *luba* periods.

¹⁸ Beckingham and Huntingford, op. cit., p. 112.

war they call themselves Afre and Sadača;¹⁹ if they all are joined with the Tulama they are called Sapira."²⁰

The Galla's pressure on the heart of Abyssinia continued throughout the 17th century. Around the middle of the 18th century they even attained an influential political position within Abyssinia itself. Iyasu II (1730-55) had a Galla wife, and their son, who occupied the throne until 1769, surrounded himself with Gallas and spoke only their language. The 18th century was on the whole a calmer period in respect to military conflicts between the two peoples. Instead the internal differentiation within the new Galla regions seems to have increased during this time. Unanimous traditions from Tulama and Macha recount how Macha early stole the most respected of the gada system's symbols, the sceptre, which belonged to both Tulama and Macha, and thereby destroyed the unity that the common class system had given to the two large tribal groups.

Among the southern Macha tribes, important changes occurred early especially in the political system. This led to the emergence of a series of monarchical Galla states, the so-called Gibe states. For eastern Macha the oral traditions recorded by Cerulli²¹ and those I myself have obtained as well as the accounts of eyewitnesses²² tell about endemic conflicts between tribes and even smaller local groups during the 19th century. The same thing is true, although perhaps to a somewhat lesser extent, of the Tulama regions. Simultaneously with this inner particularization of the northern and western Galla regions, a consolidation and strengthening of the Central Ethiopian kingdoms took place, particularly in Shoa. According to Krapf,²³ by 1837 it had become customary for the Shoa king to make annual military expeditions against the Tulama and Macha Galla in order to collect tribute.

II. THE GADA TYPE OF ORGANIZATION

Any attempt to study the process of transformation in the Macha authority organization is impossible without a knowledge of the gada system. In eastern Macha today, however, only some mainly ritual fragments of this type of organization remain. Bahrey's description of it seems

¹⁹ Alliance designations meaning "the four" and "the three."

²⁰ When the different groups were allied, the whole group was identified by its common ancestor, Macha for all the Macha and Sapira for the Macha and Tulama.

²¹ Cerulli 1922.

²² Plowden 1868, d'Abbadie 1880.

²³ Krapf 1860, p. 29. cf. also Beckingham and Huntingford 1955, p. 21.

to imply that it was common to all Galla during the expansion period or at least common to each of the two tribal groups Borana and Barentu. Of this we can never be sure. What is certain is that variations of it developed in different regions, which make it impossible to speak of one gada-system. In this dilemma I have chosen to give a brief account of the gada system among the Borana where it is still intact in all essential features, and where tradition, which can be verified in a number of ways, indicates an unbroken organizational continuity from the time of the invasion.²⁴

Thereafter I shall try to present the main features of what we know from various sources about the gada organization in Tulama and Macha. This combined approach does not represent an attempt to fill the many gaps in our knowledge of the gada system in Macha with material from Borana and Tulama. My sole purpose is to sketch some common basic features of the gada system as a type of decision-making and authority-communicating organization.

III. THE GADA SYSTEM AMONG THE BORANA

In the Borana society one can distinguish between three main structural bases. One of these is the structure of patrilines and unilineal descent groups, comprising 18 clans divided into two exogamous moieties of respectively 15 and 3 clans, which in their turn are segmented into subclans and lineages. Property rights, marriage, co-operation in work and solidarity in conflict all belong chiefly to this structural sphere.

The second essential base is the gada system. It can be characterized as a ritual-political system regulating participation in tribal administration and the most important rituals. In addition and complementary to the gada, there is a third type of organization, the so-called *hariya*, which is a pure age grade system.²⁵

The gada system is a highly complex type of social organization. A great deal of the complexity derives from its revolving character, which makes the different parts of the organization extremely interdependent and the whole system very sensitive to disturbances. Haberland has given a detailed

²⁴ One strong indication of such a continuity is the fact that Haberland (1963, p. 189 f.) and I myself have independent of each other collected lists of *abba gada*, that is, leaders of ruling gada classes, which go back to the mid-16th century.

²⁵ It is important to note that nowhere among Ethiopia's Galla can the gada system be described as an age grade system as has been done in most of the literature. This mistaken classification has apparently resulted in part from the fact that there are distinctions similar to those of an age grade system between the different gada classes.

description of its various features, but we still lack a thorough analysis of its organizational and functional aspects. Although my own purpose in this context is limited to a discussion of the pattern of decision-making and authority-communication within the gada system, it is necessary to give first an outline of the whole organization. This I shall try to do by describing briefly what seem to me to be the most important principles involved in its operation:

1. the number of groups²⁶ and the recruiting mechanism;
2. the time interval between the initiations of two consecutive generations in the system;
3. the length of time spent by a group in a grade, i.e., the time interval between classes;
4. the number of classes and the distribution among them of rights and duties.

The Borana distinguish by name between seven gada groups: *mogisa*, *mahul*, *fullasa*, *mardida*, *darara*, *libasa*, and *sabaka*. To which of these group a man will belong depends upon the group of which his father is a member. A man is thus automatically initiated into the class that enters the gada system 40 years after his father's initiation into the same class. At the same time the father receives full rights as a member of the system's 'highest' class. 40 years later, when the son in his turn becomes a full member of this class, the father after 80 years retires from the system.

The time interval between two consecutive grades is eight years. When the son is initiated, the father's gada group has passed through five classes of, in all, five eight year periods. The son will, therefore, be a member of the sixth gada group.²⁷ Thus, if the father belongs to *libasa*, his son will be initiated as *mogisa*.²⁸ In the other Galla regions, where there are or have been five or ten group names, the son will belong either to the same group as his father or his grandfather. Although the Borana terminologically have a seven group system, they have, as a result of the recruiting mechanism and of the principle concerning the distance between two consecutive

²⁶ To avoid confusion with the terminology employed for age organizations. I prefer to use the term gada group instead of gada set. I retain, however, the terms grade for the different stages, as well as class for a group in a grade.

²⁷ The fifth if one counts from the father's.

²⁸ *Fullasa's* sons will become *darara*, *darara's* will become *sabaka*, etc.. From the time when *libasa* is initiated it will take 280 years before the same gada descent group will be initiated with the name *libasa*.

generations, de facto a five group system. The sons of members of such a gada group will at 40 year intervals hold the same positions as their fathers. These revolving five groups, which may be justifiably called gada 'descent' groups, do not, however, imply a corresponding circulation of names to symbolize the return of the same gada 'descent' group. Each group is identified instead by the name of its leader, the *abba gada*, or, if the group has not yet chosen such a leader, it is designated as sons of the *abba gada* of its fathers' generation.

Before the members of a *gogesa* or *missensa*, as the five gada groups are called, are completely initiated into the gada system, they become members of the *daballe* preparatory class. The actual entrance into the system is considered to take place at the initiation into the first of the two *gamme* classes. After having spent sixteen years as a *gamme*, one enters the *kusa* and thereafter the *raba* class. The fifth class is *dori* and consists of only five years. Thereupon one reaches the *gada*-class which on the other hand lasts for eleven years. When one leaves the *gada*-class 48 years after initiation into the *gamme*, there follows a largely inactive period, the *yuba*, comprising three eight year classes. Having left the *yuba*, one becomes *gadamoji* and thereby enters the last class. After it still living members pass out of the system and are thereafter simply called *jarsa*, the old ones.

The strict division into eight year periods appears to be interrupted by the five year *dori* class, but this only seems to be so. Those who leave *dori* after five years and are admitted to the *gada* class do not attain full status as members of the highest class in the system until three years later at the so-called *jara* feast, when they receive the formal insignia of power from the previous *gada* class. At this time the handover ceremonies between the other classes also take place. This means that members of the *gada* class have their full class status during only eight of the eleven years. Theoretically at least we can add the first three years of the *gada* class, when the *gada* members still retain much of their previous status, to the *dori* five year class. Regarded in this way, the eight year rhythm remains intact.

Because of the far too long generation interval and the lack of any effective method of birth control, many Borana men are born when their *gada* group has already passed several classes. For the same reason some have become old men or have died before being initiated into the first class. A large number are not born until the group to which, according to the genealogical recruiting principle, they should belong has long since

left the system. The sons born of fathers who have already retired or who have never been members of the gada system for the reason mentioned are lumped together under the name *ilman jarsa*—sons of *jarsa*. They take part in certain gada ceremonies and some of them may be attached to lower councils of the ruling gada class. Because of their nearly total exclusion from the gada system, a significant part of their participation in Borana social life derives from their membership in the *hariya* age-grade organization. This in a way can be interpreted as reflecting the eight year rhythm of the gada system. New *hariya* classes are actually formed each eighth year. The fundamental difference lies in the fact that the *hariya* class consists of biological age-mates.

Although the gada system is not an age-grade system, the division of the individual's life into definite periods and the assigning of certain special rights and duties to these periods constitute a basic model for its organization.

As already mentioned, the *daballe* class is considered by the Borana to be a preparatory class for the definitive entrance into the gada system through initiation into the *gamme* class. The emphasis on its nursery function is reflected by its name (from *dabalu*—jump about, dance around, play) as well as by the hair dress of its members and the custom of calling them girls or daughters.²⁹ At the end of the class their hair is ceremonially cut as a sign of their admission to the *gamme* class and the gada system. At the same time their fathers, after having spent three years in the gada class, acquire full status there, while their grandfathers retire from the *gadamoji* class and become *jarsa*.

Compared with the classes that follow, the *gamme* class's 16 years include little ritual activity. The most important duty of the class is to choose, three years before it ends, the future group leaders who eventually, after entering the gada class, will constitute its presidium and thereby theoretically the executive, juridical, and to some extent also the ritual authority for the whole tribe. This election is preceded by often lengthy negotiations. The procedure is not unlike the pre-election campaigns with which we are familiar in Western political systems: candidates are nominated and tour the tribal area accompanied by their groups of backers to win support before the election. In order to secure an election it is essential to have or to win the endorsement of such important persons as the *kallus*, and ruling or former gada officials.

²⁹ In Galla the diminutive is expressed by the feminine form.

After the election the *gamme* class takes its name from its future *abba gada* and henceforth is always identified by this name. The lack of important ritual or other *gada* duties gives the class a rather 'profane' character and allows the members to participate unimpeded in daily work. The class is also a period of education and apprenticeship for coming responsibilities.

The ensuing *kusa* class introduces a Borana to the ritual *gada* life, which consists mainly of lengthy journeys to the various ceremonial centers. Together the *kusa*, *raba*, *dori*, and *gada* classes travel in groups called *ya'a* and participate in the great feasts that are repeated during each eight year period. In the *kusa* class the previously elected leader is formally installed in his office. The *kusa* is also a kind of warrior class. Previously at least its members undertook war expeditions or big game hunts to win distinction and prestige for themselves and for the class as a whole. Sexually the class members are permitted considerable freedom, and even in other respects deviating behaviour on their part is tolerated by their fellow Borana.

After their entrance into the class of *raba* or *raba ḍiḍikḳa*, little *raba*, the men are allowed to marry, although theoretically they are not allowed to keep the children who are born while they are in this class. The *dori* class, also called *raba gugurdo*, the big *raba*, together with the three first years of the following *gada* class constitute a period of preparation for the assumption of authority.

During its reign the *gada* class, with the assistance of the ritually active classes, has to perform a series of important ceremonies. These are held at different places in the Liban region in northwestern Borana, which is the Borana 'ritual country' above all others. One of the most important events is *bali*, the handover ceremony, when the new *gada* class members are initiated. This is followed by their circumcision, after which the new class is expected to engage in big game hunts or war expeditions in order by killing to attain full status for itself and its members. Such an expedition is called *dula guto* and was obviously a significant element in the *gada* system already at the time to which Bahrey's description refers. The fourth important event is the *jara* feast, when the class members, simultaneously with the shift between the other classes, attain full status and complete independence of the former ruling *gada* class that now becomes *yuba*. At the *oda* feast, which has taken its name from the sycamore (*oda*) under which the participants in the ritual spend the night, the members of the new *gada* class perform their first sacrifice without the supervision

of any superior. After this feast, they may keep their daughters who up to this time, according to the rules, had had to be abandoned.³⁰ The last and in many respects the principle event during the *gada* class is the *muda* feast which has already been described in connection with the account of the Borana *kallu*.

After several lesser ceremonies, the *gada* class moves on to become *yuba*. This includes three eight-year periods. Its members do not participate in the *gada* ritual life nor in its other activities except as advisers. It is followed by the transition to the class of *gadamoji*. This last class can be best characterized as a 'monk class'. Its members are subject to extremely strict taboos and purity rules and must always bear their ritual class symbols, the phallic *kalača* and a long phallic ceremonial staff, the *ororo*. They may never carry weapons or kill. They must control their tempers and their tongues and should not refuse anyone anything. By virtue of the suprahuman purity they demonstrate in this way, their blessings possess a power superior to that of anyone except a *kallu*.

During the last years in their class, the *gadamoji* gather together in special isolated villages. Here the final ceremonies take place in which they bequeath their rights and possessions to their sons, and themselves withdraw from the *gada* system. They no longer take part in social life, and their status, as indicated symbolically, is the same as that of uninitiated children.

The transition from *gadamoji* to *jarsa* closes the 80 year circle³¹ of *gada* events. At this moment the next cycle is already half way and a third is being set in motion.

The *gada* system as a political organization is intimately connected with its system of ritual action. As leaders of their *gada* class and thus of all Borana, *abba gada* and the other top *gada* officials must make decisions about war expeditions and peace negotiations and other matters involving contact with neighbouring peoples. They are also responsible for settling disputes and delivering judgments in conflicts within the tribe. They must see to it that the rites fixed from mythical times are performed, and performed in the traditional way, so that life and social order may continue. It is just as little possible for the Borana as for the Macha to separate in this activity the aspects which we from analytical premises could call the ritual-symbolical and the political. However, this multi-

³⁰ cf. Haberland 1963, p. 212. In another context, p. 200 he states that both girls and boys had to be abandoned.

³¹ 88 years if we also include the *daballe* class.

dimensional character, which may confuse those who are used to dealing with more specialized institutions, need not prevent us from discussing the gada system as an organization of authority.

The leading positions of the class in power can be said to constitute a bureaucracy in Weber's sense. They are all well-defined offices, whose fundamental character is not altered by the change in personnel recurring every eighth year. The highest office is that of the *abba gada*, father or leader of the gada. To distinguish him from his closest assistants who also have the same title, he is called *abba gada arbore* which means abba gada with the ivory bracelet. He has been chosen as the leader of his group already during the last years of the *gamme* class. On admission to the *kusa* class, he and his nearest assistants are formally installed in their offices. According to Haberland,³² the *abba gada* office is hereditary in the sense that an eldest son to an *abba gada* succeeds to the same office after 40 years. This statement seems to me to be too categorical. According to all the information I was able to gather from leading Borana, the office is theoretically open to anyone who can convince his gada group and other influential bodies outside it of his suitability. In practice this has, I agree, led to a kind of pseudo-heredity, since members of an *abba gada* family have access to expert knowledge on tradition, ritual technique, and the workings of the system which others do not have to the same extent. Sons in such a family quite naturally also receive an important training by being able to follow closely the *abba gada's* exercise of his official duties. That the question here is of an 'indirect' heredity rather than a true one is further supported by the fact that disagreement and opposition frequently occur in the election of a future *abba gada*. Disagreement between one of the *kallus*, for instance, and a gada descent group has been known to lead to open feud.

Haberland does not give the source of his information that *abba gada* is an hereditary office. If he has obtained it from an *abba gada* or from someone close to him, it is probable that the hereditary character has been emphasized for propaganda reasons.

At his side the *abba gada arbore* has the two *abba gada kontoma*, who are theoretically his equals. They are always recruited from the same clans each of which represents one of the two sub-moieties of the Gona moiety. A group of three assistants called *hayu adula* are also attached to him. They are his advisers in general and they are, moreover, each in his turn

³² Haberland, op. cit., p. 188.

substitutes for him if he should die during his term of office. They are invariably chosen from the Sabbu moiety. This customary distribution of the chief gada offices reveals the application of a representation principle, by which a balance is preserved between the two moieties' claims to gada offices. The existence of such a principle is further demonstrated by the fact that if the *abba gada arbore* has been already chosen from one of the *hayu* clans, then the third *hayu adula* must be chosen from the Gona moiety. This stipulation ensures the two tribal halves three representatives each in the upper council of the ruling gada class. To this council belong also three ritual assistants, *woyu*, one for each of the three chief officials. Below the higher council there are two lower councils, the so-called *hayu garba* and *hayu meḍičča*. The former group, consisting of fourteen members, is partly made up of representatives for the immediately preceding gada class. It is appointed by its three *abba gada* to advise the new upper council in ritual and other matters. During their term of service these members of the *hayu garba* council will be in the first eight year period of the *yuba* class. *Hayu garba* includes, furthermore, some *ilman jarsa*. Their duty is to see that those who, chiefly because of the long interval between consecutive generations, are excluded from participation in the gada system nonetheless attend some of the most important ceremonies. Six of the *hayu garba* assist the *abba gada arbore*, and four each are attached to the two *abba gada kontoma*. The *hayu meḍičča* are ten in number and are assistants to the eight *hayu garba* serving under the two *abba gada kontoma*.

When they are not occupied by their extensive duties, the *hayus* from the different levels act as judges in their respective native regions, and also as chairmen in the assemblies responsible for the digging and maintenance of water wells and for other co-operative enterprises. In these matters, advisers, the so-called *jaldaba*, are attached to them as assistants.

In the system of local justice thus created, *abba gada arbore* together with the upper council constitutes the highest body whose decision is final. In principle the *kallus* are outside of this juridical system. According to Haberland's information,³³ they can intervene as mediators in disputes but have no authority to judge. Since the two great *kallus* have been recognized as 'tribal officials' by the Ethiopian administration, this situation has changed, and *kallus* now act as district judges with the approval of the central authorities.

³³ Haberland, op. cit., p. 230.

THE BORANA GADA SYSTEM

ORGANIZATION OF RULING CLASS

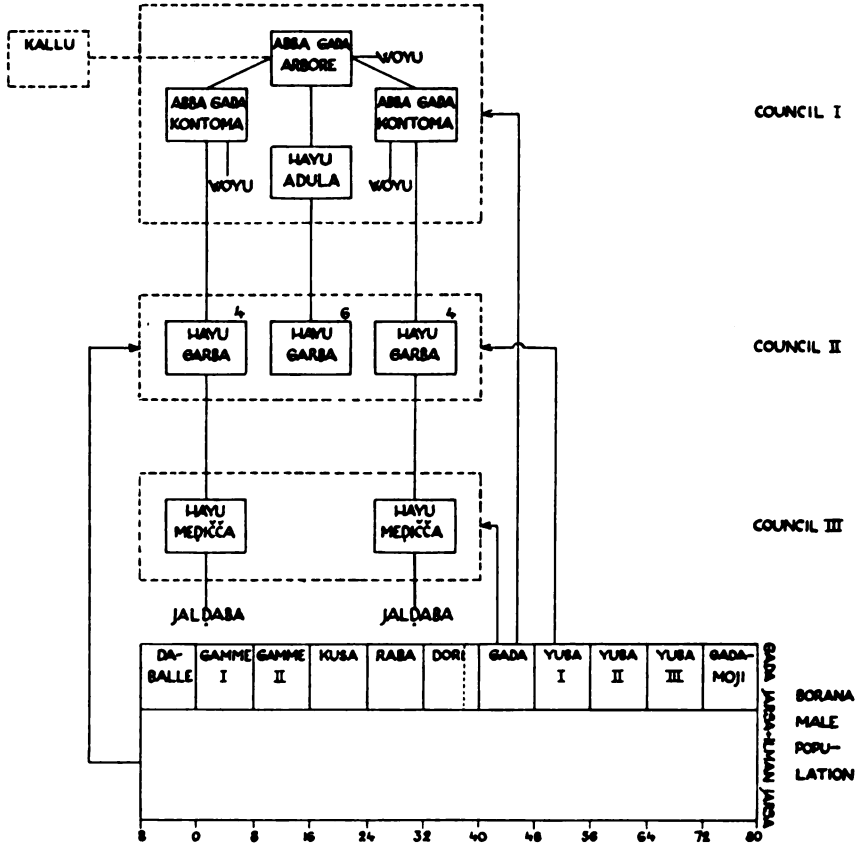


Fig. 6

IV. THE GADA SYSTEM AMONG THE TULAMA

A great deal has been written already about the gada system among the Tulama, especially by Isenberg and Krapf,³⁴ Cecchi,³⁵ Soleillet,³⁶ and Cerulli.³⁷ Haberland is the most recent contributor with partly new tradi-

³⁴ Isenberg and Krapf 1843.

³⁵ Cecchi 1885-87, vol. I.

³⁶ Soleillet 1886.

³⁷ Cerulli 1922; 1930-33.

tion material from the Gulale tribe in northern Tulama.³⁸ Although especially Cecchi's and Cerulli's accounts contain much valuable material, none of them gives a complete picture of the system. Furthermore, there have been variations between the different Tulama regions. Because of this and because of my 'limited' interest in the gada system here, it is pointless to engage in a criticism of gada literature. I should like instead to characterize as far as possible the general and common features of the Tulama system and the ways in which it can be shown to differ from the Borana system. For this purpose I am chiefly using the tradition material that I collected, particularly from the Galan, Meta, and Ada tribal areas in Tulama. Thanks to the generosity of Mr. Dinsa Lepisa Abba Jobir, B. A. who is an expert on the Tulama gada system, I have been able to compare and on some points supplement my material with traditions transmitted by gada officials living at the Tulama gada centre, the famous *çaffe Oda Nabi*.³⁹

Compared with eastern Macha, Tulama today has preserved more elements belonging to the gada. In the rural regions a man still usually knows his membership in one of the five *missensa*—the gada 'descent' groups—and also his position in the class system. The latter consists of the classes *ittimako*, *daballe*, *folle*, *kondola*, and *luba* (also called *dori-luba*). Except when the *luba* class is divided into two four year periods, the time span of a class is eight years. When a man has completed his period in *luba* he becomes *yuba* and is thereby considered to be outside the system. The expression is that he has "passed out of gada." As in the case of the number of *missensa* names, which in Tulama are generally found to be either ten or five corresponding to five gada descent groups, one can observe a simplification of the class system as compared with that of Borana. Since the *yuba* is not considered to belong to the gada classes, the 40 year rhythm has been accentuated.

In Tulama today only two classes still retain something of their character and functions. One is *folle*, the warrior class, the ceremonial character of which is reminiscent of Borana's *kusa* class. At various feasts, particularly when they are connected with the gada system, the *folle* play the part of clown and dance troupes. They are allowed considerable sexual licence and at the same time have a right to molest those who do not follow the accepted sexual moral code. The second class still ceremonially

³⁸ Haberland 1963, pp. 536 ff.

³⁹ Mr Dinsa Lepisa is at present preparing a publication on legal aspects of the Tulama gada system.

distinguished is *luba*; at its conclusion the members celebrate the *butta* feast at which they are circumcised.⁴⁰

In addition to group consciousness and some ritual fragments of the class system, one of the *gada* offices, *hayu*, still exists in Tulama. The *hayu* was apparently a ritual leader and a leader for various local groups of *gada* classes in the traditional Tulama system. As such he was the foremost local representative of the *gada* organization. Nowadays descendants of former *hayu* have kept the title and act as experts on *gada* customs as well as leaders in remaining *gada* rituals.

It is impossible now to determine when the *gada* system ceased to be a system common to all or most of the Tulamas. Because of the reports we have of intertribal warfare, it is highly probable that the individual tribes already constituted independent political units during the last half of the 19th century or even earlier. In the separate tribes the local *gada* organization seems, however, to have played an important role up to the incorporation into the Ethiopian Empire.

This is evident, for instance, from one of Cerulli's texts⁴¹ which records the reaction of the Gulale tribe to Menelik II's attempt to place it under the control of the Shoa Kingdom. The decision to repudiate Menelik's aspirations and to fight the Shoan army was made by the tribal *gada* presidium. On the other hand in both Galla and Amhara traditions from the time of the conquest, various Galla groups are identified by the names of individual persons in a way that seems to show that they had an almost monarchical political system. However, one cannot draw such immediate conclusions from references to 'powerful' men in different tribes. It is important to remember that in the *gada* system there were special positions as war leaders, and that in war time these often became the actual leaders of the tribe with practically dictatorial powers.

The traditions agree on the whole as to *gada*'s organization during its 'effective' period in Tulama. They are also supported on essential points by Cecchi's and Cerulli's accounts.

The classes that are of interest for a discussion of the administrative structure of Tulama's *gada* system are above all *kondala* and *dori-luba*. The former word signifies an adult man, and it was in this class that the members prepared themselves to take over the responsibility as leaders

⁴⁰ Since the circumcision of children according to the Orthodox Christian custom has now become common, this is a ceremonial circumcision, and as a rule consists in cutting the thigh.

⁴¹ Cerulli 1922, p. 70.

during the next eight year period. The *kondala* were initiated in a ceremony at the *çaffe*.⁴² During the second year of the class in the so-called *labbi*-ceremony they were relieved of the obligation to serve as soldiers which earlier during the *folle* class had been their chief duty. During the third, fourth, and fifth years the *kondala* took part as passive members in the transactions and the ceremonies carried out by the ruling class. During the sixth to the eighth year they finally elected from among their members the officials who were to preside over them for the eight years in the *luba* class. It is impossible today to determine whether in the traditional system hereditary principles were followed in this election or whether it was free. According to information given by several *hayu*, a *gada* office was theoretically open to all. At the same time, however, those elected had to be of 'pure' *borana* descent preferably belonging to a senior line.⁴³ *Abba boku*, 'the *gada* president' for all the Tulama is, for instance, said to have been always a member of the Galan tribe that has a senior position in Tulama tribal genealogy. With such restrictions imposed on candidates it can hardly have been a question of a free election. Other informants, who unlike the *hayu* are not to be regarded as special transmitters of *gada* tradition, also state that the offices passed from father to son at least during the period immediately preceding the conquest by Shoa.

In the various local groups of the *luba* class the *hayu* supervised the *gada* ceremonies held at the tribe's or subtribe's own *çaffe*. He also acted as local judge and upholder of 'gada law' in his area, and presided over the local meetings at which the local *luba* members discussed common problems. From these lower assemblies special delegates, the so-called *šanača* (the five man group), represented the region in meetings held by higher assemblies.

This information implies the existence of a hierarchy of *gada* assemblies in Tulama. The lowest were those where members of the ruling class in a smaller area met, often quite informally, to discuss local problems. Next came the various tribal *çaffes*, where, at least during later periods, most of the *gada* activities took place. Formally the highest in this series, however, was the assembly common to all the Tulama. According to tradition

⁴² The word actually means a low-lying, grassy place. In *gada* terminology it stands for the assembly or parliament places where the most important ceremonies were performed, where all important decisions were reached, where laws were formulated and judgements passed by the ruling class.

⁴³ 'Purity' and seniority are actually two sides of the same requirement. The more senior one's position is, the 'purer' it is.

it was called Oda Nabi, the sycamore of the Nabi, a name still remembered by all central and western Galla. Here the various tribes sent their delegates; here the entire presidium of the ruling gada class in Tulama assembled. Important questions that could not be settled at lower levels were brought up here; and here the laws that would be valid for all the Tulama during each eight year period were revised and promulgated.

According to the traditions recorded by Dinsa Lepisa,⁴⁴ this presidium consisted of nine members, the so-called *saglan yai borana* (the nine of the borana parliament). These were divided into three groups containing three offices each.

The principal official and formally the leader of the whole ruling class and thus of all the Tulama was the *abba boku*, the father of the sceptre. At this side he had two men who were considered equal to him in rank, and who perhaps can be best described as 'vice-presidents'.⁴⁵ These three together were called *warana saden*, the three spears. According to one tradition, binding decisions could be made only when these three were in agreement.

The next group consisted of the three leaders of the popular assembly at the *çaffe*. They were the *abba çaffe*, who served as chairman of the assembly; the *abba dubbi*, the father of the speech, a kind of herald or speaker who presented new proposals from the class presidium to the assembly; and the *abba sera*, father of the law, an expert on traditional law whose duty it was to memorize the results of the assembly's deliberations.

The third group of officials was less homogeneous. Here was the *abba alanga*, father of the whip, who acted as a kind of judge. The popular assembly under *abba boku* constituted the highest judicial body, and the *abba alanga* seems to have been responsible for the execution of its decisions. *Abba dula*, the father of the war, was the military leader of the ruling class and thus of the 'nation'. In critical situations he could be given dictatorial power for shorter periods. The third office in this group, the *abba saa*, father of the cows, is more difficult to define on the basis of the information given by the traditions. He is vaguely said to have had something to do with the welfare of the people.

⁴⁴ The gada system among the Tulama, unpublished Ms, 1964.

⁴⁵ It is uncertain whether these correspond to the *dori* and *raba* which da Thiene describes as Abba Boku's assistants among the eastern Galla. (da Thiene 1939, p. 315.) cf. also Isenberg and Krapf (1843, p. 256.)

One can compare the number of members in this 'upper' Tulama gada council with the nine-man upper council in Borana.

It is not possible to establish today to what extent this kind of presidium existed also at the various tribal and subtribal assemblies. If we may judge by Cecchi's reports,⁴⁶ the *hayu* acted at the tribal level as, by and large, the only gada functionary, possibly with a military leader at his side.

The deliberations at the highest *čaffe* were chiefly taken up with legislative and juridical matters. Already towards the end of the *kondala* class, the future members of the ruling class decided upon the rules that they were going to follow and those that they intended to change. The legislative program thus planned was presented to the assembly at the *daga kora* ceremony (see below). The *čaffe*'s character of legislative assembly seems in some places to have survived the breakdown of the system. As late as 1960 a change in the relative values placed on men and women in connection with compensation for homicide was considered by a *caffé* assembly of the Bačo tribe. Traditionally in such cases the value of a woman was estimated as half that of a man. Some of the participants in the assembly argued that the customary rules ought to correspond with the modern Ethiopian law that accords a woman equal rights with a man. After lengthy discussions it was decided that *sera*, the traditional 'law', should be changed so that the fine for the killing of a man and of a woman would thereafter be the same.

The other subject for a *čaffe* assembly's deliberations were juridical disputes which had proved impossible to solve at lower levels. According to all the traditions these discussions took place on moonless nights so that the various speakers could not be seen. Even the voices were disguised so that no speaker could be identified. This was done so that nothing of a personal nature should unnecessarily disturb consideration of the facts of the matter.

Besides these duties the *luba* class in its term of government, like the *gada* class in Borana, was occupied with large and important ceremonies. A complete account of these is beyond the compass of this survey.

Nonetheless, a short description of one of the ceremonies must be included here as an illustration of the 'bureaucratic' character of the administrative organization of the *luba* class. The ceremony in question was held after five years in the class. It was called *daga kora*, a name that means "he climbs the stones." On this occasion *abba boku* climbed a platform of stones and pronounced the formal phrase for the law-giving procedure: "*seran ḍalča*, I bring forth law", (from *ḍalču*—to beget). Instead of

⁴⁶ Cecchi, op. cit., p. 528 f.

the usual reply from the assembly, "*ilma dalči*—bring forth your son" (proclaim your law), he was met by the shout "*hindalčitu*—do not proclaim (your law)." A group of those who were still *kondala* then went forward and pushed him down ceremonially from the platform, reminding him that his term of rule would soon be over. If he refused to let himself be pushed down, force was used. In his place, the future *abba boku* elected by the *kondala* mounted the platform and proclaimed the law that he intended to follow during his period of rule. After this ceremony, during the last years of the *luba* class, preparations began for the formal transfer of power. This finally took place at the *butta* ceremony when the members of the ruling class were circumcised and became *yuba*, thus passing out of the gada's forty year class cycle.

As in the Borana system, the organization of the ruling class in Tulama exhibits many of the traits used by Weber to define an organization of bureaucratic authority. Like the Borana the Tulama gada system was based on the circulation of sections of the male population (gada descent groups) through clearly defined institutions (classes). To one of these classes, and within it to a system of well defined bodies and non-personal offices, the authority to administer tribal affairs and justice was delegated for a limited period of time. Beside this basic similarity there are, however, also important differences.

One of the crucial functional problems in the Borana system is connected with the forty year interval between consecutive generations. This seems to have been true also in Tulama.⁴⁷ However, the methods used in Borana to attain a biological interval between generations compatible with the gada rules have apparently not been applied, or at least not to the same extent, in Tulama. Some informants claimed that children were previously abandoned, but I did not obtain any consistent tradition referring to any requirement or practice of such birth control. To solve difficulties caused by the long generation interval other methods were tried here. For instance, a man who was already very old when he was initiated into 'the children's class' could be allowed to bring his grandson with him. This is consistent with the Galla conception of alternating generations as having a kind of closeness or identity that consecutive generations do not have. Where there were ten gada group names, the group of the grandfather and the grandson were identical. The same is true of the kinship term for grandfather and grandson which is *akakayu* for both. In addition to this method,

⁴⁷ Already at the time Cecchi wrote, old men and infants were members of the same class (op. cit., p. 530).

there were other possibilities. One could change or skip one's gada group. The technical term was *gada huluku*—to change or skip over gada. Such a change was permitted, if a man felt that membership in a certain gada group was unlucky for him, or that he could not meet the obligations incumbent on the grade in which his own group was. For all such changes the approval of the ruling gada assembly was required.

Another set of important differences between the organization of authority in the Borana and the Tulama systems is found in the principles of representation of different local regions and in the praxis of decision-making. In Borana the pattern of representation reflects a tribal moiety-structure. In Tulama the process of sedentarization and tribal particularization had led to a more marked regional differentiation. It is against this background that we must see the 'segmentary' character of the Tulama system and also the hierarchical organization of functions and assemblies.

Depending on the nature of the problems, decisions were made at all levels in the system, the final authority resting, at least theoretically, with the intertribal gada assembly at Oda Nabi under the leadership of the supreme officials of the *luba* class. It is tempting to assume that we can observe here a division of authority between a legislative body, the *ṣaffe* assembly, and an executive, the *luba* class presidium. There are also other traits which resemble those of a 'democratic' type of organization. The constant shift of power among the five gada groups, which can be described as demographically identical sections of the male population, and the representation in the chief assembly of various local groups of a ruling *luba* class through their *ṣanača*-delegates definitely afforded channels of influence to the people. On the whole, however, the material is too limited to permit a detailed discussion of the actual importance of such 'democratic' tendencies which I personally think should not be exaggerated.

V. THE GADA SYSTEM IN EASTERN MACHA

In eastern Macha as compared with Tulama the gada tradition is much weaker, and the elements existing today are fewer. Only a few older men still know to what gada group or class they belong, and the number of those who every eighth year perform the *butta* sacrifice and undergo circumcision—the indication that they have completed their forty year cycle—decreases rapidly. During my first field period the last *hayu* for all of Liban, who lived at Inčinni on the Tukkor plain, died at a great age without a successor. Those who are occasionally called *hayu* in eastern

TULAMA GADA SYSTEM

ORGANIZATION OF RULING LUBA CLASS

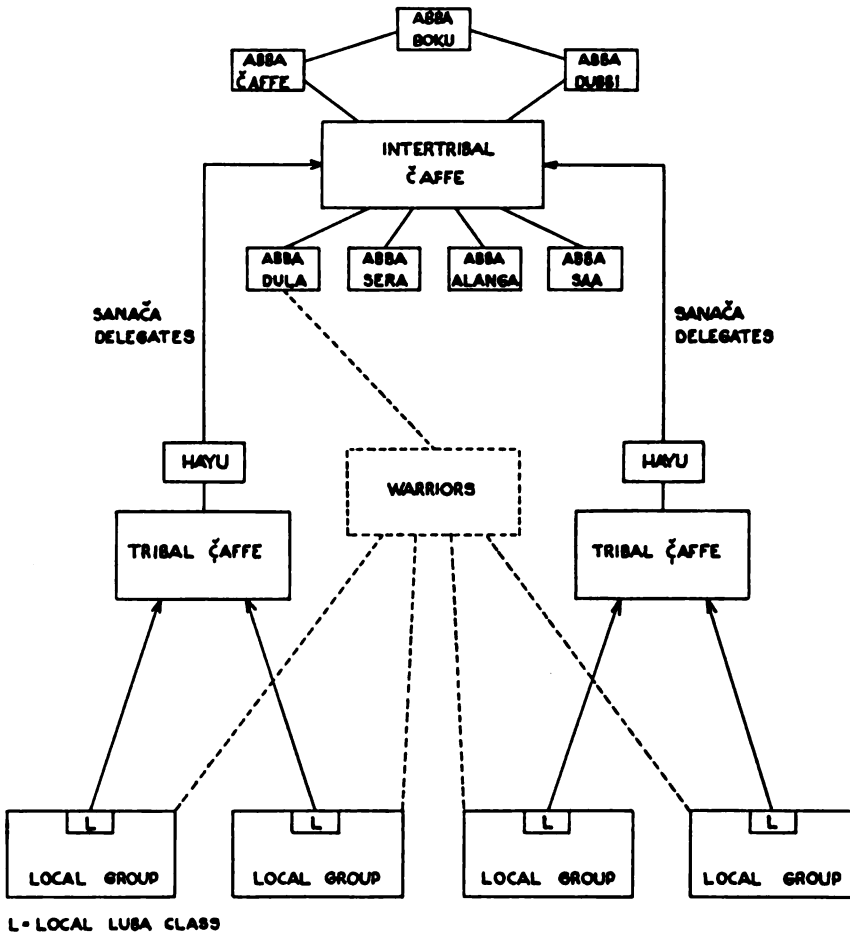


Fig. 7

Macha to-day are usually persons who have held the *butta* feast and become *gula* and who are erroneously given the *hayu* title because of their supposed expert knowledge of the traditional gada system.

The oldest fairly complete account of the Macha gada system was given by d'Abbadie,⁴⁸ who in 1846 lived among the Guduru. According to him,

⁴⁸ d'Abbadie 1880, pp. 175 ff.

Guduru at this time recognized ten gada groups which partly coincide in name but not in order with those in Bahrey's description. These ten groups were arranged in five pairs in the following way:

1. Birmaji	2. Malba	3. Mudana	4. Robale	5. Dulo
Aldada	Horata	Bifole	Sabaqa	Kirole ⁴⁹

The son of a Birmaji thus always became a member of Aldada and the grandson in his turn was initiated into Birmaji.⁵⁰ d'Abbadie writes that the chief executive functions were divided between four officials in the ruling class. These were the *abba boku* who in peace time was the most important and presided over the popular assembly, the *abba sa'a* who is said to have been "chef des finances publiques"; the *irresa* who was the gada ritual leader, and fourth, the *moti*⁵¹ who was the military leader of the entire tribe. There does not appear to have been a common gada organization for large areas. He records, however, a still widely known myth that all Macha had received a common gada organization from a man "Maqo Bili", whom d'Abbadie, on the basis of the number of generations given in the myth, wishes to place at the close of the 16th century.

In the oral traditions that I obtained during my own field work, it was emphasized that Macha long ago had its own common *çaffe*, the so-called Oda Bisil, which is said to have been located in the upper valley of the Gibe River. Before this assembly was established, all the Tulama and the Macha were said to have had a common *çaffe* and a common *abba boku*. The Macha, however, conspired and stole the scepter, *abba boku*'s emblem of office. Because of this, war broke out between the two groups of tribes and led to the creation of two independent *çaffes*, one for Tulama and one for Macha. As one might expect, the Tulama tradition describes Macha as being previously subordinate to Tulama's *çaffe*, while the Macha tradition asserts the contrary. According to a tradition that Cerulli⁵² relates, a division probably took place during the final period of the expansion. The details of the events reflected in these traditions cannot, of course, be known, nor can they be determined chronologically. However, the unanimity of the different traditions supports the view that, probably

⁴⁹ d'Abbadie's spelling.

⁵⁰ According to d'Abbadie, the shift between Malba and the next class took place in 1843. This agrees with the celebration of *butta* ceremonies in Tulama and Macha in 1963 as well as with the complete handover between the old and the new gada class in Borana which was also to take place in 1963.

⁵¹ From *mou* — to rule.

⁵² Cerulli 1933, p. 170.

during the expansion era and definitely after the Galla had settled in Macha, the class organization was exposed to serious strains which gradually led to cleavages and changes. The following text which I obtained from one of the most respected 'historians' among the Liban describes these changes in the language of the oral tradition.

"There were five misensa. They are called *dulo*, *robale*, *birmaji*, *horata* and *mičile*. Formerly there was a sixth, *bifole*, but it has disappeared. Some say that there were once seven gada groups, but I do not know anything about that. *Abba boku* or *hayu* led the *luba* class at *čaffe*. The leader of the sacrifice was *irresa gada*. Both the title of *abba boku* and that of *irresa gada* were hereditary in certain *borana* families. At *čaffe* they assembled from all places and made laws that applied to all Oromo. When people had serious disputes they also took them to the *čaffe* to be mediated. But the time is long past when everyone followed gada and lived according to gada. First all the Macha had a common assembly in Oda Bisil. There were also lower assemblies. When people stopped going to Oda Bisil, they went only to their own *čaffe*. Amaya has its *čaffe* at Inčinni. It is the assembly place for all Liban. Furthermore, there was a higher *čaffe* called *čaffe* Kortu, but people have stopped going there too. Kutai has its assembly place at Čitto north of Ambo."⁵³

The fission of the *čaffe* institution and the accompanying decrease in the operationality of the class system as an 'intra-tribal' system is dramatically described in another tradition spread over large parts of eastern Macha.

"There was a man from the Dada clan. His name was Mogora Dambalo. He lived many generations ago. He saw that gada had become bad. People had to wait years for decisions, and the men at *čaffe* wanted bribes for settling disputes and giving answers to other problems. When he was at *čaffe* Inčinni on the Tukkor plain (according to another version, when he was at *čaffe* Oda Bisil) where the assembly was meeting at night, he became mad. He climbed up in a tree and shouted: 'Everyone has his place. Why do you come here? What is the use of coming here? Hold *čaffe* yourselves in your own district.' When he had shouted this, he fled from the place. And when he fled, he put his *rufa* (turban) on another man's head and this man was killed by the members of the assembly. He who was wrongly killed cursed those who killed him and said: 'May your families disappear as my blood is doing now.' In this way gada was destroyed in Macha."

The rest of the text is obscure and I, therefore, record it word for word:

Túlama fđna fólle gđlčē

Tulama he caused to return with *folle* (in *folle*'s footsteps).

⁵³ Nowadays any place where the elders of a tract assemble to discuss common problems may be referred to as *caffē*. (cf. also University College of Addis Ababa, Bulletin of the Ethnological Society 1957, p. 16, where it is reported from *Leka* that every village had its *hayu*.)

<i>Nónno fána ráda safu gdlče</i>	He sent Nonno back with <i>rada safu</i> . ⁵⁴
<i>Agabya fána gúra gdlče</i>	He sent back Agbya? with <i>gura</i> —the dances. ⁵⁵
<i>Tákkor fána dǎ'af fdji gdlče</i>	He caused Tukkor (those who lived at Tukkor) to return with the calendar and the flag of the <i>čaffe</i> .
<i>Bókun tukkoriti gdlle</i>	The <i>boku</i> (the scepter) returned to Tukkor. ⁵⁶

The meaning of this part of the text is not clear. It appears to refer not only to a 'local' disintegration, but also to a separation of important functions and symbols.

In all the traditions describing the disintegration of the gada system, the consequences of the changes are described as a catastrophe for the Macha people.

"When gada was destroyed, they left gada. The bull refused to mount the cow, men no longer respected justice. There was no one who could be given the office of *abba biya*, father of the land. There was no one who could take the office of capturing criminals. There were no longer any real elders, and few children were born. The cows gave birth to deformed calves. Pregnant women gave birth to their children at the wrong time. They bore children without hands. Lambs were born without forelegs and without tails. And calves were born which had no tails.

"When the gada customs were destroyed, everything else was also destroyed. When gada no longer existed, there was no justice. The crops that were cultivated no longer grew. And the oxen refused to fatten. The man who had formerly respected truth and justice abandoned them. When the *boku* was destroyed, justice was also destroyed. When Tukkor was no longer filled with people, the *čaffe* became weak. It was Tukkor which destroyed gada."

In the traditions about Mogora Dambalo's sabotage of the central *čaffe* institution and about the consequences of its disintegration, one aspect is especially interesting. It is stated that gada had deteriorated as a common system for all or large parts of Macha. Above all the function of the central assembly as the highest level in Macha's juridical system had been impaired, and the gada officials had become corrupt.

In its basic features the Macha gada system is very similar to Tulama's. The main difference seems to be that the former disintegrated far more

⁵⁴ "The heifer of respect" which has to be sacrificed if anyone has broken the incest laws.

⁵⁵ *Gura* or *Sirba*—dance—was the name of the ceremony by which the former *kondala* were initiated into the *luba* class.

⁵⁶ This part of the text seems to imply that the *čaffe* where Mogora Dambalo made his 'revolution' was Oda Bisil.

rapidly and completely than the latter. It will, of course, never be possible to learn the specific reasons for this. Some general factors which may have contributed can be indicated, however. The topographical conditions in Macha may have played some part; Macha as a whole is much more mountainous and inaccessible than the Shoan plateau. The existence today of numerous *gabaro* clans indicates that at the time of the invasion there was a large native population which was obviously assimilated later by the penetrating Galla. The question of whether the Galla invasion of the Macha region was a large scale immigration or consisted in a penetration by smaller Galla groups which made themselves masters of the earlier population cannot be answered today. A folk migration hypothesis appears to me to be perhaps too schematic and simplified a description of the course of the invasion. In the southern part of the Macha region before the Galla settlement there were monarchical states.⁵⁷ In this area where the Gibe kingdoms were later established, the shift from the class organization to a monarchical political system seems to have been both early and radical.⁵⁸ These changes have certainly exerted an influence on other parts of Macha and contributed to the disintegration of the gada system.

It is also reasonable to assume that the expansion in itself created great strains. Increased distance to the central *çaffe*, which made it difficult to fulfil the system's ritual obligations, and lack of expert knowledge among the scattered groups are all factors that can have contributed to the deterioration of the class organization. With the change from mobile animal husbandry to agriculture and thus to a more settled economy we must also assume that the regionalizing of interests described in the tradition of Mogora Dambalo became more and more noticeable.

VI. THE SITUATION IN EASTERN MACHA AT THE TIME OF THE INCORPORATION

For the mid-19th century period we are fortunate to have a number of literary sources on Macha, consisting chiefly in the accounts written by European explorers and missionaries. Regarding the political situation the different authors are remarkably unanimous. Constant fighting between different tribes and local groups, a gada organization with mainly ritual functions, and a concentration of political power in strong men and war-

⁵⁷ Lewis 1965, p. 35.

⁵⁸ Lewis, op. cit., p. 130 f.

leaders dominate their pictures.⁵⁹ The oral traditions that Cerulli records from Macha⁶⁰ and the traditions that I myself have obtained all support the literary evidence.

The political units were made up of relatively small local groups comprising one tribe or only a few clans. The number of inhabitants in such an independent group has probably very seldom exceeded 50,000.⁶¹ Leaders of these groups were called *moti biya*, a term that can be best translated as chief or petty king. He was the military leader in war and the chief justice in peace. Most often he was also a man of wealth, owning great areas of land and herds of cattle. In the oral tradition he is often, characteristically enough, called by the Amharic term *ḥum*—district chieftain. Especially interesting is the information on the relations between the *moti* and the gada organization.

Beke, who did not actually visit Macha but had a good observation post in Gojjam, gives the following description of the Gallas south of the Blue Nile:

"Each tribe has its own chief, ruling districts of greater or lesser extent, whose authority, it is true, is rather suited for and exercised in times of war than in those of peace, when the traditions of the nation, as preserved by the elders, and public opinion, have more to do with the government of each tribe than the will of the *abba dula* or chief—literally warrior."⁶²

Beside the powerful *abba dula* or *moti*, the head of the gada system seems to have been less important. Cardinal Massaia, who was able to observe the situation in Guduru in the 1850's, gives evidence to the effect that the traditional gada council and its president, the *abba boku*, wielded a very limited authority. When the gada council tried to arbitrate between two opposing factions, it was neither able to keep peace nor to enforce its decision about the payment of compensation. About the *abba boku* Massaia writes:

"Outside of the public assemblies he hasn't any authority, but is a simple private person like all the others."⁶³

Economic factors may also have played a role in the creation of new focuses of power. In spite of the anarchic situation and the endemic con-

⁵⁹ See, for instance, Plowden 1868, pp. 276 ff.

⁶⁰ Cerulli 1922.

⁶¹ The Ethiopian administration usually made its district divisions in accordance with the political groups existing at the time of the incorporation, and on the basis of these districts it is possible to estimate to some extent the size of the population.

⁶² Beke 1843, p. 255 f.

⁶³ Massaia 1886, III, p. 79. (Lewis' translation, 1965, p. 28.)

flicts, trade flourished. Eastern Macha lay on the important trade route between Gojjam and northern Ethiopia on the one side and the rich Gibe states on the other. According to both local traditions and authors like de Salviac,⁶⁴ there existed in all northern Galla regions an important class of big landowners, the *abba lafa* or *abba biya*, who were supporting large followings of farmers and servants on their land. De Salviac describes how wealthy landowners could recruit their own small armies, which they would either put at the disposal of the tribe or use for their own purposes. He also indicates some of the structural implications of the emergence of such a landed nobility. His conclusion is that, besides the traditional gada system and in certain respects intermingling with it, there existed a social organization in which power was based on land ownership and wealth. These reports can be compared to the oral traditions that are still transmitted in Macha.

According to the tradition from Liban, the *moti* could either be elected by *jarsa biya*—the elders of the country⁶⁵—or inherit the rank from his father. He kept this rank as long as he lived or as long as he was not defeated by any rival within or outside of the group. Several traditions claim that the *moti* was a former *abba dula* who because of the constant fighting came to be ‘permanent’ in his office. However that may be, the traditions agree that the leaders who governed the various autonomous groups in eastern Macha in the period preceding the incorporation into the Ethiopian Empire were all military leaders and autocratic rulers.⁶⁶ They had under them *korros* who acted as local chieftains and judges. Important questions were discussed in the above-mentioned council of elders, where the *moti* acted as chairman.

Only fragments of the gada system remained. Among these were the membership in gada groups, the nominal circulation of classes, and the eight year rhythm marked principally by the *butta* feasts. The expressions “to dance gada” and “to dance at *çaffe*” which recur in the traditions constantly reflect the predominantly ritual character of the gada elements. It was the *moti biya* who was ultimately responsible for seeing that the ceremonies were performed. He ordered the gada group whose turn it was to carry out the *butta* sacrifice to fulfil its obligation.

⁶⁴ de Salviac 1901, pp. 195 ff.

⁶⁵ Possibly a last remnant of the gada system’s popular assembly.

⁶⁶ The *moti* for Čallee was Marga Gobana, for Sullo and Ammaya, Banti Manne. Iji Bojjia ruled over Gamo, Erge Akako over Toke, Osana Boka over Danno, and Gose Jali over Nonno.

TABLE 2. Chart of historical periods and major events.

Expansion period 1520-1600	The two tribal halves Borana and Barentu constitute structural makrounits. Gada is the dominating organization.
Settlement period 1600-1700	There is constant war with central Ethiopia. The Borana finally splits up into one southern and one northernwestern group. The tribes of the latter become more autonomous. The gada-organization is of the Tulama-Macha type.
Tribalization period 1700-1800	Relations with central Ethiopia become more normal. Galla influence extends into Abyssinia. Tribal particularization increases. In Macha the central <i>çaffe</i> -institution disintegrates and the gada organization breaks down as an authority organization. Towards the end of the period the <i>moti</i> -organization emerges in eastern Macha.
Period of Amhara expansion 1800-1880	Galla military and political strength declines. The political particularization of eastern Macha is total. The kallu-institution emerges.
Ethiopization period 1880-	Macha is incorporated into the Ethiopian Empire. Within the local culture the kallu-institution is predominant.

After the introduction of the Ethiopian administration, many of the local rulers who were then in power in the different regions were given the hereditary rank of *balabatt* with control over most of the land that the Ethiopian state redistributed in the conquered areas. In this way many *motis* became founders of a 'nobility' whose members have come to play an important role in the Ethiopian administration of the new areas.

VIII

FINAL AUTHORITY AND ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGE

I. INTRODUCTION

In the introduction to this book I have sought to capture the fundamental meaning of the term authority and to emphasize the central position that in a study of change problems must be accorded to the organization of final authority in a society.

Now that I have presented such material as can throw light on this organization in Macha today and on the organizations that have preceded it, I shall try to formulate some general conclusions concerning these organizations and the process of change.

Before doing this, however, I should like to summarize some of the premises for such a task. On the basis of the material presented it can be established that the emergence of the kallu institution in Macha followed upon the disintegration of the gada system—notably the *çaffe* institution. The consecutive relation between the growth of the kallu and the decline of the gada makes it tempting to assume a causal relation between the wane of the latter and the rise of the former. Reference to the time sequence alone is, however, not enough if we are to understand the relation between the two. We need also to examine and compare them specifically as organizations. Such a comparison should thereafter be supplemented by a review of certain general features of the ecological and structural situations in which the different organizations exist or have existed. The aim here should be to distinguish and characterize the conditions required if the various forms of organization are to function efficiently. On the basis of such an analysis we may then hope to isolate some of the factors that have contributed to the disintegration of one type of organization and created the niche in which another has developed.

II. A COMPARISON OF AUTHORITY ORGANIZATIONS

I have already referred, and shall also in the following pages refer, to studies made of formal organizations in Western societies. I am doing this because I believe that a comparison between formal organizations

and the types of authority organization I am examining in this book will enable me to formulate in a new and, I hope, more fruitful way some questions concerning institutionally little specialized societies. At the same time I am aware that such a comparison can lead to serious misunderstandings. It is obvious, for example, that a formal organization, because it is part of a specialized society, has a more specific goal and a more clearly defined field of function. This must be taken into consideration in any discussion of 'organizational types'. Aside from an institutional 'typologization' departing from the place of the organization in the great institutional fields in a Western society (the economic, political, religious, educational, etc.), divisions have been made on the basis of "prime beneficiary,"¹ "criterion of membership,"² and type of "compliance," i.e., the kind of power employed within the organization and the kind of involvement of its members.³

Because of the often multidimensional character of organization in a society such as Macha, a corresponding classification is difficult to make. It is, for instance, impossible to use only one or a few criteria or to base a differentiation of organizational forms on traits determined by institutional specialization in an industrial society. Instead any comparison must start from a set of universally applicable categories which together cover the whole range of organizational function.⁴

It is clear that the choice of such categories can vary according to the purposes for which they are to be used and because of other factors as well. We face also the common difficulties connected with most classification in the social sciences; because of the complexity and the endless variation in related and seemingly identical forms a strict classification ought to contain one separate class for each single form.⁵ To avoid such consequences, comparison must depart from functional aspects. Therefore, in my discussion here I shall characterize and compare the ways in which the different organizations have solved their main functional problems. I shall also try to show how these solutions are related to the socio-ecological context in which the organizations operate.

¹ Blau and Scott 1962, pp. 42ff.

² Blau and Scott 1962, p. 40.

³ Etzioni 1961, p. 12.

⁴ Etzioni's concept of compliance fulfils the requirement of general applicability, but because of the stress it puts on the definition of psychological involvement of members in an organization, I have not been able to use it.

⁵ cf., Leach 1961b, p. 2f., Barth 1966, p. 22.

To be sure, I have not been able to disengage myself completely from the dilemma of a classificatory approach in its traditional shape. However, where I have been forced to refer to types of organizational form, such reference should be regarded as background information pertinent to the discussion of the 'working processes' of the organization in question.

In order to keep my comparative discussion within reasonable limits, I have restricted my viewpoints to three main aspects which from empirical viewpoints appear essential to an understanding of any kind of organization.⁶ Within each one of these three main categories I have divided up the discussion under subtitles. The total number of categories employed thus becomes eight:

1. *Personnel*

- 1.1 Recruitment of general members
- 1.2 Recruitment of qualified members (in authoritative positions)
- 1.3 Training for authoritative positions

2. *Decision making and communication*

- 2.1 The character of authoritative positions
- 2.2 Decision making
- 2.3 Communication within the organization

3. *Co-ordination within the organization*

- 3.1 Distribution of charisma
- 3.2 Control of dysfunction

The organizations that I shall attempt to compare in the following pages can be divided into two main groups designated below as I and II, each with two subordinate types designated respectively Ia and Ib and IIa and IIb. Type I is composed of those parts of the class system that comprise the ruling gada class and the other organs making up the system of communication of final authority in Borana (Ia) and Tulama-Macha (Ib). By type II, I designate the form of final authority that in Macha replaces the organizational form dominated by the class system. Type IIa is the 'moti-organization' of which only parts are known, while type IIb represents

⁶ For the general description of the different organizations I refer to chapters IV, V and VII.

the organization that has provided the main material for this study. For the sake of convenience I have arranged the comparison so that each main type (I and II) has its own column on the same page with subtype *a* presented first followed by subtype *b*, if there are significant differences between them.

1. PERSONNEL

1.1 *Recruitment of general members*

Ia

The ruling gada class in Ia consists of a segment of the total male population which meets the qualifications for membership in the system. Membership in a gada group, and therewith in a class, is determined by patrilineal descent. A gada group, however, in no case coincides with any other group recruited through patrilineal descent. In type Ia each group is composed of members of the two moities of the Borana tribe and of all of its clans and subclans except those that include a kallu among their members.

The system in some aspects, for instance, in the division of rights and duties between classes, shows similarities with an age-grade organization. The mechanism of recruitment and the consequences of the forty year generation interval, however, have resulted in all gada groups, and thereby all classes, having roughly the same average age.

IIa

The group that in Macha was subject to the authority of a *moti* consisted of one or more local descent groups. Oral traditions indicate that, where physical boundaries divided clan or descent groups, the local tie to a *moti* took precedence over a descent tie. Within a 'chiefdom' a *moti* had special supporter groups in his lineage and in the elite warriors with whom he surrounded himself and whom he supported on his land.

IIb

The social base of the kallu institution is made up of several nuclei or categories. One of these comprises the kallu's household and minimal lineage, which as a rule coincide with his close local group. Another is made up of persons who for various reasons have sought his assistance and remained in his household to serve the ayana. A third is composed of his ritual assistants who between ceremonial

Ib

Gada groups and classes in Ib also constituted segments, rather than age groups, of the male population. As in Ia the forty year generation interval tended to reduce the base for the recruitment of a gada group. Various techniques such as reshuffling and transfers between groups were used to counteract the consequences of the too great generation interval. A representation of local groups belonging to a *çaffe* was achieved through their sending of delegates—the so-called *šanača*—to the common assemblies.

occasions act as his servants or make their living as sharecroppers on his land. Finally a fourth category of followers consists of those who through the *worega* system are attached to him as his clients.

On very special occasions such as the annual *kello* festival, at name-giving, and at certain other rituals, clan membership is the essential basis for adherence and subordination to a particular kallu.

1.2 Recruitment of qualified members (in authoritative positions)

Ia and Ib

In type I officials are theoretically recruited by election. This election is held in a class before it receives executive power. For various reasons a tendency toward heredity or a kind of pseudo-heredity plays an important part in the recruitment of personnel for executive positions. (See below under 1.3.)

IIa

In Macha the term *moti* signified the military leader in the class system Ib. Because of the military situation, which during the entire nineteenth century was characterized by innumerable wars with the Amharas as well as internal feuds between Galla groups, the *moti's* office increased greatly in importance.

On the basis of the oral tradition it is impossible to describe exactly how a *moti* was recruited. Heredity certainly played a part. There are, however, tradition statements to the effect that *motis* arrived at their positions solely because of outstanding military prestige.

Several local chieftains of type IIa were obviously former military leaders in the local class system who had usurped their positions and kept them for life.

IIb

According to the ideology of the kallu institution, a new kallu is appointed by ayana. In practice the principle of heredity is dominant in the groups that have already had an established kallu. It is, however, not certain in advance which of a kallu's sons will be his successor. Nor is it absolutely certain that one of them will succeed him. A comparison between established clan kallus and lesser recent kallus indicates that it is more usual among the latter type for kalluship to be discontinued. Out of eleven clan or maximal lineage kallus of the first type only one was not succeeded by one of his children. In the second category the corresponding figures were nine out of sixteen. This material is entirely too limited, however, to permit more specific conclusions.

No definite rules can be laid down for the recruitment of a new first time kallu. He often comes from an established kallu's group of assistants. First when his 'charismatic' qualities have been tested and approved by an established kallu does such a newcomer achieve full status.

1.3 *Training for authoritative positions*

Ia

Because of the transitive character of the authoritative offices in Ia and Ib as well as the complexity of the system, the training of future officeholders constitutes a key problem.

Since the future presidium of the ruling gada class is chosen in the *gamme* class, twentyfour years of preparation and training precede entrance into the authoritative positions. Even thereafter for a period of three years new officials are subject to supervision by the retiring officeholders. Persons with near relatives who have previously held gada office naturally have greater opportunities for receiving the training without which they cannot fulfil their duties. This, and also the fact that certain offices for reasons of distribution are reserved for special groups in the social structure certainly play a role in the observable trend toward inheritance of office.

Ib

In Ib a long period of training also preceded the assumption of gada office, although the material does not allow any detailed discussion of this aspect.

IIa

Regarding type II a the material is insufficient for a discussion of this aspect.

IIb

In the household of an established kallu children are trained from their earliest years by continual participation in and observation of the kallu's ritual and extra ritual activities. The latter type of participation is limited, however, to his sons. Training by repeated participation in a kallu's activities and by direct instruction is also given to this special assistants. The latter, furthermore, have often come to the kallu because of ecstatic experiences of their own which can facilitate both training and the eventual later recruitment of a new kallu from their ranks.

There is no kind of uniform training for future kallu and no superintendence of training by any particular kallu.

2. DECISION MAKING AND COMMUNICATION

2.1 *The character of authoritative positions*

Ia and Ib

The authoritative positions in the type I organizations consist of offices that can be called bureau-

IIa

The *moti*, as previously pointed out, was chiefly a military leader. Because of this his position was de-

cratic in the sense that they constitute 'non-personalized' positions of authority. One indication of this is the complete shift every eighth year of the persons in these offices. The principle followed in type *b*, that assemblies should be held on moonless nights so that speakers could not be identified, is a striking illustration of the non-personal character of gada office.

Ia and Ib also have in common the distribution of important tasks among several positions. This differentiation had been carried especially far in Ib, giving the authoritative positions there a degree of specialization and expertness that further motivates our using the term bureaucratic organization in Weber's sense.⁷

In both type I organizations emphasis is placed on the subordination of the authoritative persons to the system of rules that governs the organization. Thus it is indicative that, if for some reason the handover of authority from one gada class to another in type Ia is postponed, the period of the postponement is identified by the name of the abba gada who *should have occupied* the office had the rules been strictly observed.

pendent upon his personal ability as a captain in war.

If the kind of authority represented by the positions in type I can be described in Barnard's terminology⁸ as authority of office, type II can be characterized as having the authority of leadership.⁹

IIb

The kallu represents a distinctly personal form of authority which has as one of its predominant characteristics the suprahuman legitimation of the kallu position. During recent years, particularly in the case of senior clan kallus, there has been a considerable 'routinization' in Weber's sense of the institution.¹⁰ The ecstatic element, for instance, has been regulated by the development of a formalized ritual system.

⁷ cf. Weber 1922, p. 126f.

⁸ Barnard 1938, p. 173.

⁹ Weber's term *charisma* could also be mentioned here, but as I wish to make special use of this term later, I shall refrain from discussing it in this connection.

¹⁰ cf. Weber op. cit. p. 142f. (Die Veralltäglicung des Charisma).

In *Ib sera gada*, the 'law' of *gada*, had two aspects. One was the regulation of the functioning of the system as such and the definition of the rights and obligations of each individual officeholder in the executive class. The other aspect was the body of rules forming the basis for the judicial activities of the *çaffe*-assembly. Each new executive class was expected to restate or reformulate the 'laws' that it intended to follow. These, therefore, were slightly more flexible in nature than those relating to the functions of the class system, but the emphasis on the officials' subordination to a set of non-personal rules was the same.

2.2 Decision making

Ia

The *abba gada* holds the final authority in questions that have arisen within the class system or have been referred to it. He, however, cannot make decisions until he has deliberated extensively with the various councils and the ruling *gada* class as a whole, and has heard important advisory groups such as former members of the presidium.¹¹

Ib

In type *Ib* the supreme authoritative body was the assembly of

IIa

Jarsa biya—the elders of the region—made up of senior men and others specially qualified acted as a *moti*'s informal council. He, however, was personally responsible for all final decisions in military and judicial matters. Furthermore, he superintended certain ritual activities; thus it was he who gave orders for the remaining *gada* rituals to be held.

IIb

Final decisions are communicated

¹¹ In this description I do not take into consideration the shift in influence from the *gada* presidium to the *kallu* that took place after incorporation into the Ethiopian Empire. I omit also the system of local chiefs, *balabatts*, introduced by the Ethiopian administration.

local delegates at the highest *çaffe*, which was presided over by the executive council of the *luba* class. Whether a decision involved a revision of existing 'laws' or was in accordance with them, it was reached by consensus in the *çaffe* assembly.

by a *kallu* under possession or in such a manner that those affected by them are convinced that, whether they are in accordance with or depart from existing rules or precedents, they derive from *ayana*.

2.3 *Communication within the organization*

Ia

In type Ia perhaps the most important occasions for communicating final authority are the ritual maxima during the eight year period of a ruling class when its members are assembled in considerable numbers from all Borana. This form of member concentration often over long periods is facilitated by the organization of daily labour. Through the practice of animal husbandry according to the so-called *fora system*¹² the main responsibility for work rests on the two *gamme* classes and the *raba* class. This arrangement makes it possible to relieve the *dori* and *gada* classes which are thus enabled to participate in the time-consuming ritual activities in connection with which the ruling class performs its other executive functions.

Other factors facilitating communication are the settlement pattern with numerous dwelling places for the same individuals in different

IIa

The tradition material permits of no general statements about the communication of authority in the *moti* organization. In the case of military and political decisions, the traditions indicate that they were communicated directly by the *moti* to those affected. In the case of judicial decisions, there was a delegation of authority to local subordinate judges, so-called *korro*.

In the ritual field there were a number of specialists none of whom, however, can be characterized as a final authority on ritual matters.

IIb

In the *kallu* organization the communication of authority is direct and without any form of delegation. On certain occasions interpreters explain the *kallu*'s message, but they lack all authority of their own. Each *kallu* is the centre of a single system of authority communication. Theoretically there is no larger

¹² cf. Haberland 1963, p. 68ff.

parts of Borana and the distribution of gada groups over the entire Borana region regardless of moiety, clan, lineage, and local boundaries.

Below the level where final authority is located—the *abba gada* and the upper council—there are levels with different degrees of delegated authority. During the periods between the ritual maxima the various *hayu*, for instance, exercise delegated authority on the local plane. Former functionaries because of their previous offices retain a certain status in their home regions and serve locally as mediators.

Ib

Below the highest *çaffe* and its presidium were the leaders of the local *luba* classes, the so-called *hayu*. These acted partly as ritual leaders and partly as presiding officers at assemblies on a clan and subtribal level. Delegates from the groups belonging to a higher *çaffe* and *jila* who had completed their active gada duties by participating in the *muda* ritual among the southern Galla also constituted lower levels through which authority was communicated to members of the class system and other members of the society.

In the type Ib system, according to the unanimous evidence of traditions, tension developed between

system in which one kallu is superior or inferior to any other. A kallu is subject only to his ayana. There are, however, as the description above has indicated, tendencies toward such systems. It is felt that a senior kallu should approve a new kallu. This legitimization assists the new kallu in his efforts to become socially established and at the same time plays an important part in safeguarding the position of a clan kallu by controlling his possible rivals.

In all important respects the equality between kallus is stressed. When a kallu, for instance, is unsuccessful in solving a problem, he can propose that it be referred to another kallu. This does not mean that the kallu suggested is superior to the remitter. It is a question of a horizontal transference between theoretically equal positions.

Thus each kallu in principle exercises complete authority over his following. The composition of the latter is not permanent, however, but is subject to constant fluctuations in membership. Its size also varies in relation to the nature of the problems requiring a kallu's decision.¹³

¹³ See above under 1.1.

different *çaffe* levels. A general shift to sedentary agriculture seems to have led to a considerable decrease in mobility as compared with conditions in type Ia and also to an accentuation of regional interests and solidarity. These in their turn affected the communication between the central *çaffes* and the various local groups.

3. CO-ORDINATION WITHIN THE ORGANIZATION

3.1 *Distribution of charisma*

A preliminary discussion of the term charisma is necessary before this category can be applied. In early Christianity charisma was the Greek term for grace. It was introduced into social science by Weber in his well-known typology of organizations and authority.¹⁴ According to him charismatic authority is authority possessed by "holders of specific gifts of the body and spirit" whose "gifts" are intrinsically "supernatural not accessible to everybody."¹⁵ In line with this definition Weber gives his famous description of the charismatic type of organization:

"In contrast to any bureaucratic organization of offices, the charismatic structure knows nothing of a form or of an ordered procedure of appointment or dismissal. It knows no regulated 'career', 'advancement', 'salary' or regulated or expert training of the holder of charisma or of his aids. It knows no agency of control or appeal, no local bailiwicks or exclusive functional jurisdictions; nor does it embrace permanent institutions like our bureaucratic 'departments', which are independent of persons and of purely personal charisma."¹⁶

"The charismatic leader gains and maintains authority solely by proving his strength in life."¹⁷

Weber distinguishes between two types of charisma. He calls the one "pure charisma," and the other "routinized charisma." The former is a matter of purely personal leadership. In the latter charisma has been transferred from the person to the office or position held by later successors. The successors exploit, so to speak, the charisma once accumulated by

¹⁴ Weber 1922, p. 140.

¹⁵ Translation by Gerth, H. H. and Mills, C. W., 1958, p. 245.

¹⁶ Translation by Gerth, H. H. and Mills, C. W., op. cit. p. 246.

¹⁷ Translation by Gerth, H. H. and Mills, C. W., op. cit. p. 249.

the charismatic leader. When routinization is complete, the charismatic leadership has been transformed into a traditional or bureaucratic authority organization.

Weber's definition of the charismatic and bureaucratic type of authority has played an important role in social scientific debate. Nevertheless, as analytical instruments Weber's concepts are impaired by notable weaknesses, chiefly perhaps because they are so comprehensive, but also because certain basic postulates on which they depend are not clearly stated. Charismatic and bureaucratic authority, for instance, are not merely two conceptual poles for Weber. Beneath the surface of his description of their mutual relation lies also an evolutionary hypothesis that the transformation of an authority organization proceeds according to the formula: charisma → routinization of charisma → traditional authority or bureaucracy. There is, however, nothing which makes it impossible for charisma to arise in a bureaucratic organization—in other words, to be achieved in an office. This, in its turn, means that a charismatic organization can indeed develop through routinization into a bureaucracy, but also that a bureaucracy can become "highly charismatic."¹⁸ This happens, as Etzioni rightly points out, when a peacetime army is put on a war footing and sent to the front.

The fact that the two types can exist simultaneously and as alternative patterns in the same organization makes it necessary, as Parsons long ago suggested, to treat Weber's two authoritative types not as distinct and exclusive but as variables in one analytical system.¹⁹

Another of Weber's obscurely expressed postulates implies that charisma, when a charismatic organization has been routinized, will be concentrated in the top position or positions. But it is obvious that charisma can develop in a number of different organizational positions, not merely in the highest. Etzioni, who raises this objection, wishes to distinguish between three types of charisma distribution. In the first, which he refers to as a *T* structure, charisma is actually concentrated in the top positions (Ford Motor Company under the direction of Henry Ford). In the second all "line positions (are) filled by charismatics." He calls this type an *L* structure (the hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church). Finally in the third "charisma is limited to one or more ranks other than the top ones" (doctors in hospitals). He calls this form an *R* structure. In certain types of organiza-

¹⁸ cf. Etzioni 1961, p. 206.

¹⁹ Parsons 1937, p. 716.

tion, prisons, for instance, charisma is completely absent.²⁰ I shall not go into a detailed discussion here of Etzioni's typology. By raising some objections to Weber's typology partly on the basis of Etzioni's studies. I have merely wished to avoid the misunderstandings that might arise from a complete identification of the authority types represented in the material of this book with Weber's types. At the same time I have tried to give a background for my discussion of the distribution of charisma in the organizations I have studied.

Ia

The authority organization in the ruling gada class in Borana can be best described as a structure of *L* type with charisma distributed from the top positions via lower office-holders to all mature members of the gada class.

Ib

The *L* structure is perhaps still more pronounced in type Ib where different line positions because of sedentarization, decreased mobility, and tendencies toward local separatism had gradually achieved a stronger position than in type Ia.

IIa

The *moti* organization is a typical *T* structure with charisma concentrated in the top position.

IIb

This is also true of the type of authority organization represented by the kallu.

3.2 Control of dysfunction²¹

Every organization has its system of sanctions for enforcing decisions that do not fall, or fall only partially, within the existing 'area of acceptance'. On the basis of its general character a sanction can be called negative or positive. It can also be classified according to the form of influence which it exploits. In this sense we may speak of positive, negative, coercive, remunerative, normative, and other sanctions.

A detailed determination of the character and function of such a system of sanctions would require a thorough analysis of actually deviating be-

²⁰ Etzioni 1961, p. 208f.

²¹ Here used in the sense of "strain, stress, and tension on the structural level" originally suggested by Merton (1957 p. 53).

haviour in an organization and actual reactions against such behaviour. The nature of the material which I have been discussing in this chapter is such, however, that an analysis of this sort is only feasible for organization type II*b*. Nevertheless, it is possible to draw some general conclusions concerning the systems which the different organizations have developed to control charisma and therewith the emergence of potential rival authority.

If charisma occurs in an organization, it contributes, as long as it can be controlled, to increase the effectiveness of the positions where it exists by adding the intense personal influence that a charismatic can exert to the obligatory character of communications from an authoritative position. But if an organization is not capable of satisfactorily checking this personal influence, considerable danger may arise. This can be of several kinds. Charisma can develop in what, according to the pattern of charisma distribution in the organization, is a 'wrong' position. If, for instance, a line position in a *T* structure develops charisma, pronouncedly dysfunctional effects will result.

But charisma occurring in what from the organization's viewpoint is a 'right' position can also lead to serious strains, if the occupant does not follow the pattern of conduct expected by the organization but instead makes his position a focus for deviating activity. Problems of this type are naturally fewest in a *T* structure where charisma is concentrated in the top. If, as Etzioni points out,

"the head of an organization sets rules, he cannot by definition break them. His deviation is the establishment of a new rule."²³

In *L* structures, on the contrary, the risk of tension between charisma on the one hand and organizational discipline on the other is considerably greater. This is because lower positions here are endowed with charisma and, therefore, constitute potential focuses for a break-up of the organization.²³ Because of such problems knowledge of the mechanisms employed to control potentially deviant charisma is essential for an understanding of a shift between two different types of organization of authority. In the following comparison I shall differentiate between two mechanisms of control used for co-ordination purposes. Borrowing from Etzioni²⁴ I call these preventive and post-factum control.

²³ Etzioni 1961, p. 224.

²³ Conditions in *R* structures are of no interest in this connection, since this type is not represented among the organizations discussed here.

²⁴ Etzioni, op. cit., p. 234.

Ia

The persons who are to serve in authoritative positions in type Ia are first chosen after an extensive campaign. The candidates for office, especially for a position such as *abba gada*, make what closely resemble election tours during which they seek the endorsement of their candidature by such important persons as former presidium members of their own gada group and of the preceding classes, the chief kallus, and other persons reputed to be experts on the class system.

The tendency to follow patrilineal descent in nominating and electing candidates should probably be considered as evidence of preventive control. This procedure is intended to hinder by a careful selection of personnel the advancement to high office of persons in danger of developing deviating charisma. The training of future officials is also a manifestation of preventive control. Indoctrination keeps the individual from developing objectives that differ from the goals of the organization as a whole. Obviously sons of former officeholders have a considerable advantage over other candidates in regard to education and training. This, as previously mentioned, may have contributed to the pseudo-inheritance characterizing recruitment in Ia and Ib.

The importance of an intensive advance education is also empha-

IIa

The material on the *moti* organization is entirely too limited to permit more definite opinions about the control of competing charisma. On the basis of the existing traditions concerning rivalry, it would seem that problems were created less by competing charisma within the organization than by rival groups outside it. Although this is only an impression, it tallies well with the conditions in a *T* structure.

IIb

In the case of type IIb new charisma develops when a person experiences possession by an ayana. If the possession is repeated, attempts are made to identify the ayana. Should it then appear that this is a 'malignant' spirit—a *setana*—preparations are made for an exorcism either led by a kallu or initiated by him in that he sends the possessed to some well-known exorcist. If a 'true' ayana is identified, the newly possessed can request endorsement by his clan kallu. This endorsement the latter may give or withhold. In fact the endorsement and legitimization of a new kallu seems to decrease potential rivalry. In the three cases I was able to observe no one was refused the legitimization sought. It was the opinion of all informants on this matter that recognition after a

sized by the selection of future officials sixteen years before their entrance into the executive class. During this period they undergo continuous training which comes to an end only after the three first years of the gada class when the final handover of power takes place.

Advisers, former officials, and others who play an important part during the entire ruling period of a gada class also have preventive functions. The situation that in type I organizations is particularly sensitive to the threat of deviant charisma is the transition from one ruling gada class to another with its accompanying shift in personnel.

In addition to the preventive control exercised through selection and indoctrination, many of the rituals also serve as preventive mechanisms in support of the shift of authority between consecutive classes.

If, despite all preventive procedures, the sitting gada presidium attempts to remain in power, post-factum mechanisms take effect. These consist of direct measures, such as feud, undertaken to force removal.

Ib

In comparison with Ia, the possibilities of effective training and supervision were limited in Ib. Among the reasons for this were the tensions between local groups

reasonable 'testing period' was very seldom withheld.

By means of the terms on which he grants his approval a clan kallu can induce new kallus to adopt his variant of ritual technique. He also comes to occupy a position in relation to them similar to that of the ritual father at circumcision and the godfather at an Orthodox baptism.

A legitimized kallu is under obligation to visit the kallu who has confirmed him at certain of the senior's more important rituals, e.g., the sacrifice to the clan kallu's ayana abba and the *kello* festival.

Although two kallu institutions theoretically constitute free and independent organizations, a clan kallu can in this way exercise a measure of post-factum control over potential rival charisma. In type this control resembles what in the language of modern business studies is called control through promotion and control through compartmentalization. Both of these control strategies propose to decrease rivalry and create possibilities for new charisma to develop goals that will coincide with those of the existing organization.

in the class system and regionalization in general.

Among the ritual preventive mechanisms the so-called *daga kora* ceremony is notable. Here the authority of the ruling *luba* class leader was revoked, and a ritual revolt against his administration took place.

Even in the case of post-factum mechanisms the control system seems to have been less effective in Ib than in Ia. The traditions agree, for instance, that a local *luba* class leader, *hayu*, held his position for life.

III. THE PROCESS OF CHANGE

On the basis of the material I have reported from Macha it can be established that a transition from an authority organization of type I (Ib) to one of type II (IIa and IIb) has taken place. Historically this transition occurred in the form of the regionalization of the area into smaller independent and mutually competing groups, the decomposition of the class system as an organization of authority common to larger regions, the development of the *moti* organization as the predominant political system before incorporation into the Ethiopian Empire, and the rise and expansion of the ecstatic *kallu* institution.

Against the background of these facts and the above comparison of the functional characteristics of the organizations involved, it should now be possible to draw some more general conclusions as to the nature of the process of change by which the present *kallu* institution was brought into being.

Before I start to do this, however, I should like to indicate in what sense I am using the term process here. First, a process is not a mere sequence of events in time. In order to deserve the name process such a sequence must show a certain regularity revealing a pattern of independent and dependent factors. Secondly, as I have already stated,²⁵ we must

²⁵ Above p. 17.

distinguish between two fundamentally different processes of change. One consists in those repetitive processes necessary for the maintenance of a social system. These I have discussed in the comparative section above.

The second type of process is non-repetitive and leads to significant changes in the structure of a society or an organization. It is to this kind of change process that I now wish to direct my attention.

There are naturally many ways to approach a problem of such monumental complexity and significance as that of social change. In order not to get completely lost in this the unknown land of social science I have chosen to adhere to the empirical strategy that I have tried to follow up to now. Thus I should like to identify certain factors that are essential to any organization if it is to function in a satisfactory way. Then I shall consider these factors briefly against the background of the socio-ecological context of the type I organization in an attempt to understand the process of organizational change that occurred in Macha. Certain assumptions concerning the nature of such a process underlie this attempt. A thorough discussion of these assumptions and their implications would need another volume. Nevertheless, because they serve as postulates to my approach, it is necessary that I outline them here. The first postulate is that any organization—that is those individuals leading it—strives to achieve a satisfactory operability. By this I mean that it seeks to maintain and, if possible, increase goal achievement in terms of the values held by its members.²⁶

According to my second postulate an important part of this process consists in adaptation, direct or indirect, to the ecological environment. By direct adaptation I mean that the organization has to adapt to actual physical conditions; by indirect that it has to adapt, although not necessarily conform to, a social and cultural environment which in its turn is dependent on the ecological setting.

²⁶ I have consciously avoided such terms as maximizing or optimizing operability, since they would imply in this context that a person or an organization actually chooses the "best" solutions to various problems. Simon (1957 b, pp. 196 ff) has indicated some of the difficulties caused by the use of an optimizer model and suggested that it be replaced by a satisficer model. The latter postulates that alternative courses of action are arranged in an order of preference and that an individual or group will select a strategy that satisfies a given set of needs. Such a strategy may be sub-optimal since "to optimize requires processes several orders of magnitude more complex than those required to satisfice" (March and Simon 1958, p. 141; cf also Hagget, P, 1965, p. 26, 181 f., and Wolpert, J, 1964, who argue along the same lines).

If we accept these assumptions, we can proceed to examine the requirements that the type I organization must fulfil if it is not to suffer serious dysfunctional effects.

Because of the complex nature of the gada organization—the distribution of charisma to line positions and the absence of effective post-factum sanctions in a basically segmentary structure—a satisfactory preventive control of deviant tendencies is necessary to the organization. To attain this, the training of members both common and qualified is vital. The possibilities for an effective training depend in their turn upon settlement patterns and also upon ecological conditions in general which may either facilitate or impede mobility and therefore communication within the organization.

Furthermore, for an organization to retain or improve operability the communication of authority itself must fulfil certain elementary requirements. Basically I believe these to be the same for any type of organization, although there may be differences in emphasis. Following Barnard²⁷ who was one of the first to argue the importance of the communication aspects of an organization, I want to list the conditions that seem to be essential not only to a formal but also to a non-formal organization.

One concerns the channels of communication. These must be well-known and must reach every member. Another has to do with the actual flow of information. The line of communication that it follows ought to be as short as possible. At the same time, if a line is made up of several positions, the whole line should normally be used. It is also important that the line not be interrupted while the organization is functioning. Finally the persons serving as communication centres must have adequate competence, and the communication issuing from them must be adequately authenticated.

The obvious conclusion of this reasoning is that changes in the type I system of communication, whether caused by decreasing intra-system mobility or by other obstacles to the flow of information, will seriously affect the possibilities of checking dysfunctional tendencies.

On the basis of what we know about these communication aspects during the time when the type II organizations developed in Macha, we can now make certain propositions regarding their organizational consequences and the interrelation between the different phases in the process leading to the emergence of the kallu.

- i. In contrast to the peoples in the regions where the gada-system prevails, the Macha early become settled farmers. Their fixed residence and

²⁷ Barnard 1938, pp. 175ff.

agricultural economy are certainly factors furthering regionalization of interests, local fixation of solidarity, and political particularization. Together these developments contribute to decrease communication within the class-system. The distance to the southern *gada* centre, and perhaps also various obstacles in the physical environment, prevent the flow of information from the organization centres—the supreme *çaffes* of Tulama and Macha and the *gada* centre of the southern Galla. Local boundaries and increasing local fixity in their turn prevent a flow from the periphery to the centres. This severely impedes the diffusion of organizational knowledge and thereby the training of future officials, and at the same time weakens the mechanisms of preventive control.

- ii. Compared to the officials at central *çaffes*, the various line positions on the local level have a better understanding of actual problems and are, therefore, better able to solve them. This is one of the consequences of the regionalization of interests and leads to an ever increasing divergence between the goals of the type Ib organization and the objectives of its various local units. The operability of the organization decreases. Local delegates have to wait a long time for decisions from central *çaffes*, the officials of which become increasingly corrupt.
- iii. The tensions thus created result gradually in the disintegration of the *çaffe* organization and in the transfer of final decision-making to local bodies. Still another reason for these developments, one which may have contributed especially to the expansion of the *kallu* institution, is the decline and eventually the complete cessation of contact between Macha and Abba Muda, the traditional *kallu* of the southern Galla.
- iv. The various goals of the different regional groups become predominant. Previously controlled conflicts of interest become open feuds between former subunits.
- v. The persons in local positions of authority are dependent for their existence and the expansion of their power on strategies that will give them control over their own local groups and therewith the greatest possible strength in comparison to other units of the same kind. 'Investments' are required to create and retain local followings. In order to secure their power positions local leaders must try to forward local interests. This also contributes to increase differentiation between various local groups.

- vi. Ideologies are created to motivate new pretensions to authority. The kallu claims to have direct contact in ecstasy with the suprahuman world and to be the communicator of divine authority. To the greatest possible extent the various local leaders claim to follow the laws of the type I organization. The *moti* gives the orders for the different gada rituals to be performed at the local ceremonial *čaffes*. The kallu possesses and exhibits his possession of the *kalača*, the most important ritual symbol of the type I organization, and his ritual language is filled with references to various elements of the gada system.²⁸

With this presentation of the ways in which the class organization has been affected by the decrease in intra-system communication—I consider this decrease to be the operating factor in the change process leading to the emergence of the kallu—I have tried to supplement the mere comparison of the functional processes of the different organizations. At the same time I have attempted to describe the kallu emergence process in sufficiently general terms to permit its comparison with related processes of change.

However, to my 'processual' explanation of the kallu institution a few remarks must be added in order to avoid misunderstanding. It is obvious that, by describing the process leading to the change from the class organization to the organizations of type II, I have not been able to explain completely why the kallu institution acquired its specific form. What I have been able to indicate is the creation of the 'organizational niche' in which it developed and some of its organizational features. In order to understand its form in detail we need to take into account the many specific factors which have contributed to its development. Among the most important of these are certainly the Macha world view, which contains the ideological premises for the belief in the possibility of direct contact between men and Divinity, and the influence of ritual complexes within or without Macha tradition which have supplied the ecstatic technique employed for establishing this contact.

Specific factors also account at least in part for the recent expansion and the present domination of the kallu institution in the local society of eastern Macha. The incorporation of the region into the Ethiopian state

²⁸ This process can be compared with the process of intended delegation of authority described by Selznick (1949) and discussed by March and Simon (1958, p. 40 f) In both cases intraorganizational communication, training of officials, interests and strategies of subunits and relations between them are affected in the same way. In both cases the ultimate result is organizational particularization.

has certainly played an important role in this development. Not that the kallu institution should be regarded as part of a 'nativistic' or some related movement. It existed before the incorporation and probably also before Shoan military power was at all felt in Macha. But the incorporation certainly reduced or completely eliminated the importance of those leaders or 'offices' based solely on the political and military power of the various independent 'tribal' groups. The kallu on the contrary with his base in a ritual system of action continued to exist and even to extend his activities into those areas of the social life that were left vacant by the disappearing local leadership and were not taken over by the new officials.

With this attempt to summarize the nature of the kallu emergence process I have brought my concluding discussion to an end. Needless to say I have had to refrain from discussing a large number of intricate questions in order to concentrate on the problems that I outlined in the introduction. Furthermore, I have often been forced because of either lack of space or of competence to cut discussion short on problems that do actually fall within the area of interest of this book. And last but not least, the intellectual process of scientific research is itself a process of change whereby solutions to one set of problems give rise to new questions. This certainly holds true in regard to my study, and I should, therefore, like to consider its last chapter not only as a conclusion but also and perhaps foremost as an introduction to further work on questions concerning multidimensional institutions and roles and on problems related to the description and analysis of social processes.

APPENDIX I

I:1

(Every verse first sung by kallu, verse 1, 4, 7, 10, repeated by congregation)

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. <i>yā hāḍa māre wāḱa</i> | O mother M a r a m, you are waka (of waka). |
| 2. <i>āni mādrami bēka</i> | I know M a r a m, |
| 3. <i>mīmei, mīmei</i> | (expression meaning, so it is; let it be) |
| 4. <i>yā hāḍa māre wāḱa</i> | see verse 1 |
| 5. <i>otā mālake bēka</i> | if I know your wisdom. |
| 6. <i>mīmei, mīmei</i> | see verse 3 |
| 7. <i>yā hāḍa māre wāḱa</i> | see verse 1 |
| 8. <i>sōlena bāri būtu(kao)</i> ¹ | (This time?) Early in the morning you come down (you are going to come early in the morning). |
| 9. <i>mīmei, mīmei</i> | see verse 3 |
| 10. <i>yā hāḍa māre wāḱa</i> | see verse 1 |
| 11. <i>hāmma mādrami argē(kao)</i> | Now I have seen M a r a m . |
| 12-21. repetition 1-10
(kallu solo) | |
| 22. <i>sōyem lāga, lāga</i> | The soyem of the valley, valley, (probably a small parasitic plant) |
| 23. <i>si yāde nagā nagā</i> | I long for you, peace, peace (greetings). |
| 24. <i>āno mādrami bēka</i> | I know M a r a m, |
| 25. <i>sōyem kdn māta ḍāa</i> | the soyem that grows on the top of the sycamore. |
| (antifonal song of the same type as 1-11, some new verses added such as;) | |

¹ *kao* is merely a vocal addition.

26. *śmale hinūlfant*

27. *ēga nāngalla bēki(kao)*

28. *folikē mīdo(kao)*

29. *āni fōlike argē(kao)*

30. *yā hāḍa barī, yā hāḍa barī*

(kallu solo)

31–34. repetition of verses 22–25

35. *aderā māḥa bōku*

36. *bōku kān māta bōta*

37. *aderā māḥa ḍūgo*

38. *aderā māḥa ēlemu*

39. *ōtuma ḥāllu tāte*

40. *ḥāllu gānama tāte*

41. *aderā māḥa dūšo*

42. *aderā māḥa ḍūga*

43. *aderā māḥakē*

44. *aderā ḍūga gānama*

45. *aderā māḥakēti*

46. *aderā mālka kēti*

(antiphonal singing)

47. *yā hāḍa māre wāḥa*

48. *mīmei, mīmei*

49. *ḍūga gānama bēkta*

50. *ḍūga kān ārga bēkta*

51. *ḍūga kān yūbdo bēkta*

52. *yā hāḍa māre gānama*

53. *yā hāḍa māre ēlemu*

54. *yā hāḍa māre kān jījo*

55. *yā hāḍa māre kān ḍūga*

(continued repetition of praise)

Without you they do not respect
(if it were not for you they would
not respect us).

Let it be known that I am returning.
Your swell is sweet.

I have felt (seen) your smell,
O mother of the early morning,
O mother of the early morning.

Please, in the name of the (holy)
sceptre,

?

please, in the name of truth,
please, in the name of Elemu
(first kallu in the Dada clan),
if you are (known as) a kallu,
a kallu (possessed) in the morning,
please, in the name of Dušo (kallu);
please, in the name of truth;
please, in your name;
please, for the truth of the morning;
please, in your name;
please, by your blessing.

see verse 1

see verse 3

You know the truth of the morning.
The truth which can be seen (de-
tected) you know.

You know the truth of Yubdo.
O mother *M a r a m* of the morn-
ing;
O mother *M a r a m* of Elemu;
O mother *M a r a m* of Jijo (Abe-
be's first kallu);
O mother *M a r a m* of the truth.

I:2

1. *nōru sɔya*
2. *gɔlgala nōru sɔya*
3. *nōru sɔya*
4. *nōru yā sɔya*
5. *hōfu yā abbɔye*
6. *kalesdrra, dengddamo*
7. *hōfu yā abbɔye*
8. *mālan wɔllɔle(anō)*
9. *hōfu yā abbɔye*
10. *yōn wɔllale na'amdri malé*
11. *hōfu sɔlgani*
12. *kénna wakɔɔyo hindarbaní*
13. *izgô jénna(o)*
14. *menjá, menjá ya abbɔyeko*
15. rep. 14
16. *kéo wɔrra wā(n) gúngumae*
17. *nā gúngumi yā abbɔyeko*
18. *ké wɔrra wāk sagaddú*
19. *nā sagaddí yā abbɔyeko*
20. *abbɔye nágan ólte*
21. rep. 19
22. rep. 20
23. *óle ólte yā abbɔye*
24. *nána'a yō túllo dúbá*
25. *nána'a yō galú ɔagáé*
26. *hōfuke yá wakɔɔyo*

O welcome cow,
 in the evening, welcome cow,
 welcome cow,
 welcome, O cow.
 O wonder of my father
 (continuing) from yesterday to the
 day before yesterday,
 O, wonder of my father.
 I do not know (how it happens),²
 O wonder of my father.
 If I do not know, forgive me.
 The nine wonders or (wonders of
 the nine).
 The gifts of waka we cannot leave
 (what is due to waka we have to
 give).
 We say *izgô*³ (we show respect)
 for your sake, O my father.

The compound of the people of
 thunder,
 thunder for me, O my father.
 The household of the people who
 worship waka
 worship for me, O my father.
 O father, did you spend the day
 well (how do you do)?

I am well, are you well, O father?
 Go round the hill at the back (?)
 I heard him go round when he
 returned (?)
 Your wonders, O waka.

² *māla*—usually knowledge, wisdom, here probably 'the secret of the wonders', 'how it happens'; *ano* is merely a vocal addition.

³ *izgô* is used when praying to waka.

27. *wak̄dyo lāma, ya wak̄dyo*

28. rep. 26

29. *hōfuke yā wārra wak̄dyo*

30. *amanōken hārka k̄d̄ba(o)*

31. rep. 4

32. rep. 2

33. *yā abb̄dyeko*

34. *yā gōftako*

35. *nd̄guman ōl̄ani(oe)*

36. rep. 34

37. rep. 35

38. *tamd̄s̄gen yā abb̄dye*

39. *wāḹni bōku gaē*

40. *yā siré léman(io)*

The double waka, O waka;

your wonders, O people of waka.

I hold the belief in you in my hand.

O my father.

O my lord.

Did you spend the day well?

Thanks to you, O father.

The waka of the sceptre arrived.

O the bed (throne) of god.⁴

⁴ *léman* is another word for *waka*.

APPENDIX II

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. <i>fīṭ⁵ dbba bīya naḍlī jeḍētan</i> | If there is no longer any 'father of the land', keep me alive, I pray. |
| 2. <i>fīṭ hāḍa bīya naḍlī jeḍētan</i> | If the 'mother of the land' is destroyed, keep me alive, I pray. |
| 3. <i>fīṭ ḍrga naḍlī jeḍētan</i> | If the sight is lost, keep me alive I pray. |
| 4. <i>fīṭ gāfa naḍlī jeḍētan</i> | If the day is no more, keep me alive, I pray. |
| 5. <i>fīṭ ḥāṭu naḍlī jeḍētan</i> | If the food is finished, keep me alive I pray. |
| 6. <i>fāya kēṇa najabēsa jeḍētan yā giftikō</i> | Strengthen our health for me, O my lady, I pray. |
| 7. <i>wōggake nagḍi nakēnna ya gīfi</i> | Give me your peace throughout the year. |
| 8. <i>ḍāfa nḍti hingōgorin jeḍēn yā gīfi</i> | When you come, do not ignore me, my lady. |
| 9. <i>dūlaṭa ḍāfa sibēka jeḍētan</i> | When the sacrificial cattle come, recognize them (as coming to you?) I pray. |
| 10. <i>yā iṣē gūrra nāma bāṣtu yā gīfiko</i> | O my lady, you are the one who gives fame to a man |
| 11. <i>gāf tōkko yā gīfi</i> | one day, O lady. |
| 12. <i>otā ḍāba hojētū yā gīfiko</i> | You work although one is lacking (you work for the poor) O my lady. |
| 13. <i>gāf tōkko kajēla nagōte yā gīfiko</i> | One day you make it straight for me, O my lady (please give me one day my right). |
| 14. <i>iṣā nḍti dabē nahṭrkisīsi yā gīfiko</i> | Give me your support against him who wronged me, O my lady. |
| 15. <i>akakḍyu kōti</i> | My grandfather (my ancestors) |

⁵ *fīṭe* (n) means top of tree; (the best of anything). *fīṭ* (from verb *fīṭu*—to finish) means be finished. It is not quite clear what is meant here.

16. *firra natólie*
17. *bálbala natólie*
18. *wárraf woddáj nātólie, yā gífti akakdyuko*
19. *sdñiko kēsati yā gíftiko*
20. *íntala ndma jdllaču hinjdllaču*
21. *íntala ndma ddrbu hinjdllaču*
22. *yā gífti akakdyuko*
23. *tólake ndtti tólie*
24. *haméñake naolíté yā gíftiko*
25. *ínnéña ndma hinjdlu yā gíftiko*
26. *íntala rakdtu hinjdlu*
27. *íntala qdbdu hinjdlu, yā gíftiko*
28. *jífé díga naólí jeđétan*
29. *jífé dbba bíya naólí jeđétan*
30. *jífé háđa bíya naólí jeđétan*
31. *hinndgadu, nanagadéti*
32. *hinkotddđu naķotdti*
33. *draba nanjardrsini jeđétan*
34. *kdłbi hinčđbsin jeđétan ya gíftiko*
35. *wóggake nagdti nagési*
36. *jdlo kdłbi naláte*
37. *háđa natáte*
38. *dbba natáte*
39. *bánnake ndtti tólie jeđétan*

make my relatives and friends
good for me;
make my lineage good for me;
make my kinsmen and friends
good for me, O lady of my ancestors.
In my tribe
you don't like the daughter of man
to bend (to be crooked);
you don't like the daughter of man
to be wrong.
O you lady of my ancestors,
give me your blessing,
keep me away from your wrath.
I don't like the smallness (in a
moral sense) of man, O my lady.
I don't like the daughters who are
(get themselves) in trouble,
The daughters who are lacking?
I do not like.
If the bed (throne) is destroyed,
keep me alive I pray.
If there is no 'father of the land',
keep me alive I pray.
If the 'mother of the land' is de-
stroyed, keep me alive I pray.
I do not trade, you trade for me.
I do not plough, you plough for me.
Help me to control my tongue, I
pray.
Do not break (trouble) my thoughts,
O my lady.
Bring me your peaceful time (year).
Give me a "wise offer pot"?
You are mother to me;
you are father to me.
Make your coffee good for me
(when I offer you coffee let it be
good for me), I pray.

40. *ɬɔlake nāthafē jedētan* Let your blessing remain with me,
I pray.
41. *kēnnake naɔlēi jedētan* Keep your gifts for me, I pray.
42. *hāda ndtai jedētan* Be mother to me;
43. *ɖbba ndtai jedētan* be father to me;
44. *firra ndtai jedētan* be relatives to me, I pray.
45. *kān ndtti ɛɔlu ndtti ɖɖui jedētan* Keep away from me the one who
is stronger than I, I pray.
46. *hɔlkan sebdāa, gūya sebdāa ndtai,
jedētan* Be my guard during the night and
during the day, I pray.
47. *hinkotɔɖɖu nakotē jedētan* I don't plough, plough for me, I
pray.
48. *hinagaddɖɖu nanagadē jedētan* I do not trade for my own sake,
trade for me, I pray.
49. *ɛɔla ɕinna naɔlēi jedētan* That which is good among small
things, keep for me, I pray.
50. *ɛɔla gūdda naɔlēi jedētan* That which is good among big
things, keep for me, I pray.
51. *kān ndtti ɛɔlu ndtti ɖɖui jedētan* The one who is stronger than I,
keep away from me, I pray.
52. *yā gɕftiko* O my lady,
53. *gɔlatakē nakēnnitē* give me your 'grace' (blessing).
54. *kān tolakētīn nahānbiftu yā gɕftiko* Leave your good work (your bless-
ing) with me.
55. *hɔfu* sinjedē yā wāɕ* I pay you my respect, O waka:
56. *hɔfu yā lāftan hɔfu* reverence for the earth;
57. *ɔlake hɔfu* reverence for your darkness;
58. *bārike hɔfu* reverence for your morning (day-
light);
59. *kēnnake hɔfu* reverence for your gifts;
60. *gūddunke hɔfu* reverence for your greatness;
61. *ayāna ɖbba bīya hɔfu* reverence for the *ayana abba* of
the country;
62. *ayāna hāda bīya hɔfu* reverence for the *ayana haɖa* of
the country;
63. *ɖlga mangestī hɔfu* reverence for the throne of govern-
ment;

* *hɔfu* here means reverence, respect.

64. *idbot afúrtami hófu*
 65. *wdya áte Ménelik hófu*
 66. *wdya Hdile Seldsse hófu*
 67. *nágake nakénni sinjedétan*
 68. *hdllkan sebdña ndtai*
 69. *gáya sebaña ndtai jedétan*
 70. *kán hírrate nagúte jedétan*
 71. *gutekésan naóli jedétan*
 72. *yā gíftiko*
 73. *kán nakénnitē nabúli jedétan*
 74. *kan nakénnitē naóli jedétan*
 75. *yā gíftiko*
 76. *siwamddde yā gíftiko*
 77. *masénake nahófalte*
 78. *désuke nafolçitē*
 79. *kán rakátte ráko bási jedétan*
 80. *kótata káfa kénni jedétan*
 81. *tífkata hórmeta kénni jedétan*
 82. *yā gíftiko*
 83. *nagadd báa kénni jedén*
 84. *yā gíftiko*
 85. *draba nahinjdrjarsin jedétan*
 86. *kdlbin nahinçdsin jedétan*
 87. *dalçitti kán çále tinnna naóli jedétan*
 88. *kán çála gúdda naóli jedétan*

reverence for the forty tabots;
 reverence for the mantle of Emperor Menelik;
 reverence for the mantle of Haile Selassie.

Give to us your peace, I pray you.
 Be my guard during the night,
 be my guard during the day, I pray.
 That which is not full, make it full for me, I pray.

Keep for me your fullness (the good measure that you give), I pray.

O my lady,
 that which you have given me, let me keep during the night, I pray;
 that which you have given me let me keep during the day.

O my lady,
 for my own sake I cry to you, my lady.

? Your barren cow (sacrificial cow) you gave to me.

? Your fertility you kept for me.
 Release from trouble the one who is in difficulties, I pray.

Give the farmer enough (crop), I pray.

Give the herdsman a (big) herd, I pray.

O my lady,
 give profit to the trader,

O my lady,
 make me control my tongue, I pray,
 Don't destroy my thoughts (senses), I pray.

? The ones even smaller than new-borns keep for me, I pray.

Keep for me that which is bigger, I pray.

89. *sikdāde yā gīftiko*
 90. *rōbde nawdyitet*
 91. *čānte nawdyitet*
 92. *dūgda ddbako*
 93. *dūgda akakdyuko*
 94. *ndtti hinjdllifne yāgīftiko*
 95. *hintābaḱne, hinbitānne yā gīftiko*
 96. *tolakēti, tolakēti nahdmbisi jedētan*
 97. *nāga hānde nakēnni jedētan*
 98. *hāmāni hānde fūḱḱu jedētan*
 99. *tōlake naōlēi jedētan*
 100. *dōgo gōru naōlēi*
 101. *sīrra gōru naōlēi*
 102. *hālka zebē ndtai*
 103. *gūya sebdāna ndtai*
 104. *fīrriko sī*
 105. *hāmniko sī*
 106. *gōsako sī*
 107. *lēminko sī*
 108. *tōlake natōla*
 109. *mōlake naōlēi*
- I pray to you, O my lady.
 You let it rain and improved my situation.
 You let it dry and helped me (by that).
 (Throughout) the time of my fathers, (throughout) the time of my grand-fathers
 you did not turn away from me, O my lady.
 I did not plead, nor did I buy, O my lady.
 Your blessing and mercy preserve for me, I pray.
 Give me all the peace, I pray.
 Take away all cruelty, I pray.
 Keep your blessings for me, I pray.
 Keep me from mistakes,
 keep me from turning away from you.
 Be my guard during the night.
 Be my guard during the day.
 You are my relative,
 you are my power,
 you are my clan,
 you are my patrikin.
 Bless me with your blessing.
 Keep me at your feet.

APPENDIX III

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. <i>yā māram amanēranoe</i> | O M a r a m, I have believed (I believe) in you. |
| 2. <i>haḍūmtio nāma hingōtu, māl ililāyeoe</i> | The mother herself does not do (what you do), rejoice. |
| 3. <i>yā māram amanēranoe</i> | O M a r a m, I believe in you. |
| 4. <i>māl kāna ɣāri dabārta mal ililāyeoe</i> | You help the one in trouble, rejoice. |
| 5. <i>ayāna sūllo amanēranoe</i> | I believe in the ayana of Sullo, |
| 6. <i>wāḡa kār lāḡa mārḡu māl ililāyeoe</i> | waka who makes the earth green, rejoice. |
| 7. <i>yā māram amanēranoe</i> | O M a r a m, I believe in you. |
| 8. <i>hōjike hōmtu hīndrḡu māl ililāyeoe</i> | Nobody sees your work, rejoice. |
| 9. <i>yā māram amanēranoe</i> | O M a r a m, I believe in you. |
| 10. <i>anāmti rājin drḡa māl ililāyeoe</i> | I myself (can) see the wonders, rejoice. |
| 11. <i>yā māram amanēranoe</i> ⁷ | O M a r a m, I believe in you, |
| 12. <i>yā lōtu gāba lōtu māl ililāyeoe</i> | you who move secretly in the market, rejoice. |
| 14. <i>tānato nāma gōfu māl ililāyeoe</i> | (For) that what you are doing for people, rejoice. |
| 15. <i>hanṭāra ɣarṭra ḡdbu māl ililāyeoe</i> | When in trouble, she takes the trouble away, rejoice. |
| 16. <i>angḡffa ḡḡlu tōrba māl ililāyeoe</i> | The elder of the seven kallu |
| 17. <i>yā ayāna sūllo ḡaḡgieoe</i> | O ayana of Sullo, look after me. |
| 18. <i>ḡḡa mangestī mē naḡgieoe</i> | The throne of the government, guard me. |
| 19. <i>tāllun dabḡle menaḡgieoe</i> | The mountain of Dabale, guard me. |
| 20. <i>ayāni lēmmi menaḡgieoe</i> | My ancestors' ayana, look after me. |
| 21. <i>ḡḡa mangestī menaḡgieoe</i> | The throne of the government, guard me. |

⁷ In the following repeated by the *galma* congregation after each verse sung by the *kallu*.

22. *ayāni hangdffa menaṭgioe*

The supreme (senior) ayana, look after me.

23. *wākni bīyoma menaṭgioe*

The God of the country, look after me.

24. *ayāni mānni menaṭgioe*

The ayana of the house, guard me.

25. *ayāni gōfu menaṭgioe*

The ayana of *gofu* (the place where the snake is kept in the *galma*), guard me.

26. *wākni abbakōtu menaṭgioe*

The god of my father, look after me.

27. *ayāni hādako menaṭgioe*

The ayana of my mother, guard me.

28. *yā māram amanṛranoe*

O M a r a m, I believe in you.

APPENDIX IV

Confession 1. (woman in her thirties)

Thank you, thank you, my mother. O you Lady of Sullo, thank you, thank you. It is not my fault. I am not to blame. Save me, my mother Sullo, set me free. I am one alone. I have no brother and no father's brother, *wasila*, to help me. Deliver me, my mother. I no longer live with my brother. I sit with an old woman and you have helped me with your power and your money. I am now well. I beg of you, continue to heal me and give me strength. The children you gave me, watch over them for me. I have no brother and no uncle to watch over them for me. Protect them. Thank you, Lady of Sullo.

Confession 2. (older man)

I believe in you, ayana in this house, you who rule over this house. My grandfather had no children, O Tufa Boru's ayana. He had no children and he made a vow, *worega*, to you, you ayana of Tufa Boru. And after that he got a child. But the child was born without lips and teeth. So it was told to me. When my grandfather saw his misshapen child, he asked you why you gave him one misshapen, and he threw his child under a tree. He cast away this child under a tree. Nor did I beget a child and I prayed to you. Then you gave me a child. But when it was born, it lacked teeth and a hand. And previously, when I was yet a boy, I was the elder brother and once upon a time *guma*, the death compensation, was paid to me. Two salt bars were paid to me. And I took the salt but I did not know why and I was ignorant as to why the salt was given me. And so I got my own child without a hand and teeth. And I cried out to you, O Lady of Tufa Boru. And one day when I watched over my grain, I lost my sight and I could not find my way home. My friends helped me home. For thirty years I was blind. Then I made a vow to ayana in this house and I was blessed. Also part of my sight was restored to me. But I continued to blame you, O Lady of Tufa Boru, because you had made me blind and because you had given me a misshapen son. But now I wish to ask your

forgiveness, I wish to be reconciled, for I see but little again. I pray you, cease punishing future generations. Let them not suffer as we have suffered. For the sin we have committed against you let us suffer no longer.⁸

Confession 3. (woman who had left her husband for ayana)

O my Lady. I said you were better for me. He tried to stop me, but I said you were better for me. So I came here for your sake. I came here. I disobeyed him and said you were better for me. I went away and crossed two rivers. Then somebody asked me, Why do you go away from your husband? Why do you leave your house? If he marries another, what will you do?" I had gone half of the way, but they took me back to my house. I was searching for another place to live, when they took me back. And I said to them, "Even a small piece of my Lady's bread is enough for me." I do not want my house or my children. I want to stay with you. I was going to you and they stopped me. I was searching for my truth, *duga*. My truth was sick. But when I had gone half the way, they shouted and took me back. After that I was very sick. For three weeks I did not eat or drink. You made me sick. Nobody helped me.

But I did not want to live with this man. I told them that your water and your bread were enough for me. But they drove me back, and they shouted as they shout at the locust. And I was very sick and shouted like the hyena in the night. They brought many people and wise men, and they said, "She will die." But then I prayed to you, "Even if I am dead, I am yours, and you can send your *ogesa* (orthopedic specialist, wise man) to cure me." But you sent for me, and I have come to your *galma*. You made me come, although I thought I should die on the road. I pray you, cure my truth for me. Make my truth right.

Confession 4. (man of thirty-five)

The suppliant was the younger of three brothers. There was enmity between the brothers after the death of their parents. A sister of the suppliant's father looked after his household. Now she had left him. He prays *M a r a m* to bring the old woman back to his house so that he need not

⁸ According to the officiating *kallu*, the grandfather mentioned in this confession had after his vow had a normal son and thereafter a deformed son whom he had cast away under a tree. Then he had had still another son. "It was this sin, *čūbu*, which was inherited and which made this man blind and gave him a deformed son."

sit alone there. She is the only near relative left to him. During the very long confession he searches for the crime against *duga* that can have been the cause of the woman's leaving him. He describes how his eldest brother had for several years refused to sacrifice to *ayana abba*. The suppliant confesses that his eldest brother had been too proud to sacrifice. He himself had not been able to sacrifice since he had no land of his own (one can only sacrifice to *ayana abba* on one's own land). Therefore, he has come to the *galma* to seek *M a r a m*'s help. "Although the elder is too proud to sacrifice, the younger can come to you." He closes his prayer by assuring *M a r a m* that he will return to "*kara duga*," the road to truth, and begs her that, when she in the early morning descends upon the *kallu*, she will tell him how to re-establish 'his truth' so that his misfortunes will cease.

He brought salt and copper money as gifts on the occasion of the confession and was told by the *kallu* to sacrifice a bull calf to *M a r a m* at the *galma*, a sacrifice which would also be reckoned as an offering to *ayana abba*.

Confession 5. (older woman)

The suppliant, because of illness, had not been able to come before. But she had now recovered and come to the *galma*. Previously she had been to many *ragas* seeking an explanation for the misfortunes that had befallen her. "If the truth leaves the right way, it will cause a man to go to many *raga* (those who can explain difficult or inexplicable things)." Recently one of her sons had ridden to a dance. He had fallen from his horse and been seriously injured. At times he seemed better but then the pains would return and he would not be able to move. But none of those to whom she had gone had been able to help her and therefore she had now come to *M a r a m* and her *galma*. Formerly she had been proud and had not come. Once before she had asked help of *M a r a m* but it had not been granted her. Then she had thought that *M a r a m* for some reason did not wish to help her: "I told you the truth then, and I requested the truth from you. When I did not get what I requested, I blamed you. That was why I did not give you *irresa* (sacrificial branches) for three years." The suppliant now believed that this was the cause of the accident that had befallen her son. A *raga*, however, had told her that it was not the cause, that the cause was to be found in some sin in her family during former generations. There had been no sacrifice to *ayana abba* in her family for several years. The *raga* had

said that, because of this, *ayana abba* had disappeared and gone to the *kallu* in whose *galma* the woman was making her confession. Now *ayana abba* was there and shared in the sacrifice to the male and female *ayana*.

The woman ended her confession by praying *M a r a m* to tell her how the proper relation between her family and *waka* may be restored and how she can bring about the recovery of her son.

APPENDIX V

A woman in her twenties was possessed several times during the confession by what the kallu claimed to be a *setana* or *zar*. She offered salt bars to *M a r a m* to be relieved. (possession).

Kallu: Why do you shake so?

Woman: My mother sent me, my father called me.

Kallu: Why?

Woman: "Come, let us eat together," she said, and she sent Bobe (a *setana*?) to me. And he sent his brother and forced me to eat. He put me in chains. He chained me with a chain of fire and I sat a long time fettered in fire. And he beat me and kicked me and put me in chains, and then he gave me to *ayana abba* in order that he should eat my flesh, burn my bones as wood, and drink my blood. And then my mother said to *ayana abba*, "She has no food to give you, so eat her." My mother sold me. I am hungry, my mother sold me and then she called me back. She sent merchants to me and she sold me like merchandise. And she sent buyers. She made me a buyer and a seller and sent customers to me. And I walked long roads to markets to earn a little something to live on and to give to my mother. I walked long roads in the hot sun. My mother gave me to her friend and I was put under her and I said, "Our truth is disappearing. We must both seek our justice and truth." But then she bound me with threads of fire and she sat upon me. And she gave me knifeblades, fire, and stones to eat. And my mother urged her to eat my flesh. All this my mother has done to me. (possession).

She sits beside me and sits and looks at me. She buried our justice and she stares at me. I am jealous of her. That is what I am. For my mother went long roads in the hot sun to get food for me.

Kallu: (to possessing *ayana*) Restore her health. Do not harm her. Let her come to you and sacrifice under a big shady tree. Have mercy upon her.

Voice from the woman: I shall not let her go until she has sacrificed to me. She is full of sin and error.

Kallu: Let her sacrifice. Have mercy upon her. We shall help her. You too must help her. For the sake of the truth of the morning, be persuaded. Quiet her. Cool her. Reconcile her. When humans do wrong, the wrong falls upon you also.

APPENDIX VI

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. <i>Wakdyo dūga bēka</i> (solo) | Waka knows the truth, |
| 2. <i>yō kōre malē</i> (chorus) | if he is not proud (too proud to reveal it). |
| 3. <i>handāra dāri dabārsa ō wāḱni</i> (solo) | The one without dress he gives cloth. |
| 4. <i>wakdyo dūga bēka</i> (solo) | Waka knows the truth, |
| 5. <i>yō kōre malē</i> (chorus) | if he is not too proud. |
| 6. <i>fītuma tūma bāte</i> (kao) ⁹ | (?) He gives law to the one who has none. |
| 7. <i>anūmti rājin drga</i> | I myself can see the wonder. |
| 8. <i>tēfun ambdlla wolisso baē</i> | The spit (blessing) of the ambalta tree has descended upon Wolisso. ¹⁰ |
| 10. <i>angāffa kdlu tōrba</i> | The elder of the seven kallu |
| 11. <i>hānduma dūguma bāra</i> | all that is true he knows. |
| 12. <i>rākatta hīku bēka</i> | He knows how to save the one in trouble; |
| 13. <i>dāda lējissu bēka</i> | he knows how to tame the wild; |
| 14. <i>wōllala māru bēka</i> | he knows how to give mercy to the ignorant (he forgives the ignorant); |
| 15. <i>āba bījiga rēba</i> | the 'sin' of proudness he whips; |
| 16. <i>dūga margdēu bēka</i> | he knows the truth of <i>margdēu</i> (to pray with grass in one's hand); |
| 17. <i>beld lāḱu bēka</i> | he knows how to feed the hungry; |
| 18. <i>ḍabāḍa kēnnu bēka</i> | he knows how to give the poor; |
| 19. <i>sḍgadda bālḱe bēka</i> | he knows the one who spends the night worshipping. |
| 20. <i>tāri argdēu dēma</i> | He goes to see the dirt for himself (he goes to find out the misdeeds of people). |
| 21. <i>tāri kambadā bēka</i> | He knows the bad things to be destroyed. |
| 22. <i>wakdyo dūga bēka</i> | Waka knows the truth, |
| 23. <i>yō kōre malē</i> | if he is not too proud (to reveal it). |

⁹ In the following repeated verses are excluded.

¹⁰ This probably means that the ayana has descended in the village of Wolisso.

GALLA GLOSSARY

<i>abba</i>	father	<i>dalla</i>	cattle kraal
<i>abba biya</i>	father or elder of a region	<i>dallaga</i>	kallu ceremony
<i>abba boku</i>	supreme official in Tulama and Macha gada system	<i>dirriba</i>	mantle
<i>abba dula</i>	military leader in the gada system	<i>ɖuga</i>	truth, justice
<i>abba gada</i>	supreme official in the Borana gada system	<i>durba</i>	virgin
<i>afura</i>	breath	<i>dulaguto</i>	war, raid
<i>akakayu</i>	grandfather, grandchild	<i>ebida</i>	fire
<i>ana</i>	patrikin	<i>ejeta</i>	bench
<i>angaffa</i>	genealogically senior	<i>ekera</i>	ghost
<i>arara</i>	reconciliation	<i>esuma</i>	mother's brother
<i>ayana</i>	divinity, 'spirit'	<i>firra</i>	friend, relative
<i>badda</i>	highland	<i>folle</i>	warrior class in Tulama and Macha gada system
<i>balabatt</i>	hereditary title of regional noblemen (Amh.), big landowner	<i>gabarū</i>	to sacrifice
<i>balbala</i>	door, lineage	<i>gada</i>	class system
<i>bartuma</i>	chair, custom	<i>galča</i>	votive gift
<i>bita</i>	left	<i>galma</i>	kallu ritual house
<i>biya</i>	country, land	<i>gamoji</i>	lowland
<i>boru</i>	morning, east	<i>gaša</i>	Amh. shield, area of land
<i>budda</i>	evil eye	<i>gofta</i>	lord
<i>butta</i>	final feast in Tulama and Macha gada system	<i>gosa</i>	clan
<i>čaffe</i>	meadow, gada assembly	<i>gifti</i>	lady
<i>čaču</i>	female ritual symbol	<i>gudda</i>	big
<i>čubu</i>	'sin'	<i>gula</i>	a man who has passed out of the Tulama or Macha gada system
		<i>guma</i>	reconciliation after murder
		<i>hađa</i>	mother

<i>hamačisa</i>	namegiving	<i>manna</i>	house
<i>hariya</i>	age grade system	<i>marga</i>	grass
<i>hayu</i>	official in the gada system	<i>mirga</i>	right (direction)
<i>humna</i>	power	<i>missensa</i>	gada group
<i>iddo ebida</i>	fireplace	<i>moti</i>	regional chief
<i>ilman jarsa</i>	men excluded from participation in the Borana gada system	<i>nama</i>	man
<i>intala</i>	daughter	<i>obolesa</i>	brother
<i>jarsa</i>	elder	<i>oda</i>	sycamore
<i>jarsa arara</i>	reconciliation through elders	<i>raga</i>	'wise man' expert on traditions
<i>jarsa biya</i>	elder of the country	<i>sabbata</i>	belt
<i>jauwe</i>	python	<i>sagadu</i>	to worship
<i>jila</i>	pilgrim to Abba Muda	<i>salgano</i>	kallu's assistants
<i>jinfu</i>	end of shaft of spear, custom	<i>šanača</i>	delegates
<i>jireña</i>	existence, life	<i>šani</i>	local inspectors
<i>kalača</i>	phallic symbol	<i>sera</i>	'law'
<i>kalličča</i>	'witchdoctor'	<i>setana</i>	evil 'spirit'
<i>kallitti</i>	wife of kallu	<i>sida</i>	sacrificial stones
<i>kallu</i>	'shamanistic' ritual expert	<i>sodda</i>	in-law
<i>kello</i>	yearly kallu feast	<i>sunsuma</i>	fire stones
<i>korro</i>	local judge	<i>tinna</i>	little, small
<i>kulkullu</i>	ritually pure	<i>tullu</i>	hill
<i>laddu</i>	kallu bracelet	<i>tumtu</i>	blacksmith
<i>lagu</i>	to avoid	<i>ɬuri</i>	dirt, 'sin'
<i>lemmi</i>	patrikin	<i>ulma</i>	period of seclusion after a ritual
<i>luba</i>	'ruling' class in Tulama and Macha gada system	<i>utuba</i>	roof pillar
<i>lubbu</i>	larynx, life	<i>waka</i>	Divinity
<i>malima</i>	rainmaker	<i>wan lagu</i>	things forbidden
		<i>warana</i>	spear
		<i>warra</i>	people, minimal lineage
		<i>woregu</i>	to vow
		<i>worega</i>	votiv gift

INDEX

- abba biya* 68, 180, 183
abba boku 136, 172 f, 178 f, 182
 Abba Buko 140
 Abba Čaffe 140
 Abbadie, A. de 13, 147, 160, 177 f
abba dula 173 f, 182
 Abba Muda 142 f, 147 f, 205
abba gada 136, 143, 161 f, 164 f, 167 f,
 193, 195, 200
 Abba Roggie 140
 Abdari 56, 62, 86
 Abebe 68, 71, 100, 104, 137, 141, 145
 Abyssinia 158 f
 Ada 70, 170
 adoption 49
afarsata 122
 Afran Kallu 32
 Agaw 152
 age grade system 161 f, 188 f
agi bafatu 114
 Akafede Dalle 138
 Alabdu 30, 146 f
 Almeida, M 156
 Ambo 115, 179
 Amhara 30, 39, 66, 148, 150, 153,
 171
 Amharic 152
 Ammaya 38, 70
 analysis
 diachronic 14 f, 156
 synchronic 14 f, 156
 generative 18
 comparative 185 f, 206
 ancestors 37, 39, 42
 Anna Boru 150
 anthropology
 evolutionary 14 f
 functional-structural 14
 comparative method 15, 186
arara 110 f
 cases of 115 f
 arbitrator 103, 110
 Arero 143
 Arsi 32, 37, 142, 151
 Arussi 30, 32, 135, 142
 Atete 53, 55, 88, 153
 authority 13
 organization of 19 f, 43, 47, 185 f
 final authority 19, 26 f, 130, 185,
 194
 etymology of 20
 definitions of 21 f
 objective interpretation of 21
 subjective interpretation of 21
 'folk models' of 21 f
 authority and influence 25 f
 delegation of 27, 206
 'multiphasal' nature of 28, 104 f,
 130 f, 134
 in the gada system 159, 161 f, 164,
 175
 of *abba boku* 183
 comparison of authority organiza-
 tions 185 f, 206
 Weber's types of 197 f
 avoidance 143
 ayana 47
 concept of 53 f, 80 f
 ayana abba 53, 58, 60, 83, 89 f,
 96, 98 f, 139, 201
 ayana haḍa 53
 evil ayana 54
 sacrifice to 62, 107
 voice of 65, 93, 108
 kinship relation between 70
 possession by 75 f, 107 f, 200
 relation between kallu and ayana
 76 f, 190

- number of 80
- python of 86
- song to 90
- Azaïs, R. P. 13, 90
- Azebo 32

- Bačo 70, 174
- Bahrey 157 f, 165
- Bakaffa 156
- balbala* 40 f
- balabatt* 109 f, 115, 143, 184, 193
- Bali 30, 158
- Barentu 32, 158 f, 184
- Barnard, Ch. 22, 24, 25, 192, 204
- Barth, F. 18, 186
- Basset, R. 156
- Beckingham, C. F. 157 f
- Begemedet 159
- Beke, C. F. 13, 39, 182
- Bidney, D. 45
- Bieber, F. J. 153
- Bilen 152
- birth 77
 - of kallu 105 f
 - birth control 158, 163, 175
- Blau, P. M. 186
- blood
 - ritual significance of 59 f, 77
- Bohannan, P. 22 f
- Borana 30, 32, 37, 50, 66, 88, 135, 142, 158 f, 170, 184, 188 f, 198
- borana* 39, 58, 67
- borana kulkullu* 137 f
- Borantičča 45, 57
- Borelli, J. 13
- Boru Guyo 149
- bracelet 142, 145, 147
- Brown, P. 23
- budda* 51, 59
- butta* 61, 63, 136, 148, 176 f, 183
- bureaucracy 167, 192 f
- burial 78

- čaffe* 172 f, 178 f, 184 f, 189 f, 193 f, 205
- Čallea 183

- čamsitu* 61, 137
- cattle breeding 120 f
- Cecchi, A. 13, 55, 90, 138, 140 f, 149, 151, 155, 160, 169, 178, 182
- central administration
 - officials of 109 f
 - two levels of 110
- Cerulli, E. 13, 39, 138, 140, 148, 169 f, 174
- Chambard, R. 13
- charisma 190 f
 - routinization of 192, 196 f
 - distribution of 196
 - control of 200 f, 204
- Chihab ed-din Ahmed 156
- circumcision 42, 157 f, 165, 171, 201
- clan 37 f, 96 f, 99, 102 f, 161, 188, 195
 - clan founder 39
 - as dispersed group 40
 - clanhead 42, 96 f
- classification, problem of 186 f
- climate 34
- coercion 22
- communication, theory of 20
- community, polyethnic 36
- confession 91, 98
- congregation 101 f
- cooperative work groups 42
- crops 36
- curse 114 f, 127

- Dači 37
- Dada 68, 71, 100, 106, 108, 137, 179
- dallaga* 62, 90 f, 97, 102, 140 f, 153
- Dambalo Ghedo 146
- Darassa 142, 147
- decision making 205 f
- defendant 111
- dega* 34
- descent group 37 f, 97, 99, 102, 134
 - in gada system 161, 167, 170, 188, 200
- Dinka 45, 49, 82
- Đinsa Lepissa 169, 173
- Dirribsa Nurgi 74
- diviner 137

- Divinity 49 f, 57, 71 f, 76, 80 f, 206
 relation between Divinity and men
 52 f
 reconciliation of men with Divinity
 97 f
 divorce 118, 124 f, 133
duga 52, 54, 67, 77, 97, 103, 111 f,
 114
 Durkheim, E. 17, 46
 dysfunction 28, 198 f

 Easton, D. 25 f
 ecology 34 f
 ecstasy 67, 191 f
 ecstatic ritual technique 67, 70,
 91 f, 98, 106 f, 206
 education 165, 172
 Eggan, F. R. 22
 election 164, 189 f
 Elifas 37
ekera 58, 60
eqqo 153
 Eskimos 23
 Ethiopian Orthodox Church 50, 57 f,
 62 f, 71, 78 f, 151 f, 157, 201
 ethiopianization 104, 152, 154, 184
 Etzioni, A. 24, 186, 197 f, 199
 exorcism 92, 153
 exogamy 40 f
 extra-ritual function 94, 101

 factions 42, 104, 106
 family
 polygynous 35, 94
 extended 35
 feud 189, 201, 205
 fights 115 f
firra 42 f
 Firth, R. W. 18, 23
 fishing 37
 'folk model' 22
 folk medicine 44
 formal organizations 24 f, 185 f
 Friedrich, C. J. 20, 25

gabaro 39, 167, 181
 gada system 14, 30, 32 f, 61, 157 f, 188

 Bahrey's account of 157 f
 among the Borana 161 f
 gada groups 162 f, 170 f, 178 f
 gada classes 162 f, 170 f, 178 f
 recruitment of personnel 162 f, 188 f
 initiation in 163
 councils 164 f
 election of officials 164 f
 distribution of offices 168, 191
 among the Tulama 169 f
 gada assembly 172 f, 178 f, 192 f
 in eastern Macha 176 f
 disintegration of 180 f
 training of personnel 191 f
 decisionmaking in 191 f
 specialization in 192
 communication in 194, 204, 206
 charisma in 198
 sanctions in 198 f
gadamoji 154
 Galan 70, 150, 170, 172
galša 97, 103
 Galgalo Ghedo 146
 Galla, outline of 30 f
galma 65, 72, 83 f, 99 f, 113 f, 140 f,
 145, 153
 branches of 99 f
 games, theory of 20
 Gamo 68, 100, 137, 157
 Gamu Gofa 30
 Gauwada 65
 Gellner, E. 16
 genealogy 37, 39
 genii loci 56
 Gera 33
 Gerth, H. H. 196
 Gibe states 33, 109, 160, 181
 Gidiččo 142, 147
 Gluckman, M. 14, 22
 godfather 42
 godmother 42
 Gofta 80
 Gojjam 188 f
 Gole 108
 Gollo Ghedo 146
 Gombičču 149
 Gomma 33

- Gona 142, 167 f
gosa 39 f, 100
 graves 57
 Guduru 177
 Guidi, I. 13, 148 f
 Guji 30, 89, 135, 142, 146 f
gula 61, 63, 92, 135 f, 177
 Gulale 149, 170 f
guma 128
 Guma 33
 Gurage 67
gursuma 133
- Haberland, E. 13 f, 32 f, 50, 142 f,
 145, 149 f, 152 f, 155, 158 f,
 161, 167, 194
 Hadiya 152
 Hagget, P. 203
hamatisa 93, 96
 Harar Galla 32
 Hararghe 30
hariya 161 f
hayu 135 f, 167 f, 171 f, 176 f, 202
 history 156 f
 Hobbes, T. 21
 Hoebel, E. A. 23, 27
 Hoku 30
 Homans, G. C. 22
 homestead 35
 Horro 39
 household 94 f
 hunting 37
 Huntingford, G. W. B. 14, 157 f
 husbandry 36
- ideas of an 'abstract' nature 82
 ideology 134, 190, 206
ilman jarsa 144, 164 f
 Ilu Babor 30
 incest 70
 Inčinni 176
 inheritance
 of land 100
 of kalluship 74 f, 105
 of gada office 167, 172, 179, 191,
 200
 initiation 163
- institution 19
 interest 117
 rate of 132
 invasion, Galla 158 f
irresa 57, 62, 150
irresa gada 87, 136 f, 178
 Isenberg, C. W. 13, 169, 173
 Islam 32 f, 66, 151 f
 Ittu 151
 Iyasu I 156
 Iyasu II 160
 Izikowitz, K. G. 56, 62
 Jabir 78
 Jamjam 30
 Jari 58, 98
jarsa arara 110 f
 Jijo Gabata 68, 70 f, 141
jila 136 f, 147 f
 Jimma 148 f
 Jimma Abba Jifar 13, 33
jinfu 88
 Johannis I 156
 judge 58, 109, 115, 186, 183
 justice
 symbol of 56
 judicial decision 88
 system of 109 f, 164, 166
 reconciliation through elders 110 f
 judicial procedures 110, 128 f
 sanctions in Macha system of
 110 f
 cases 115 f
 transfer of cases 130
 kallu as 'legislator' 131 f
 justice in the gada system 164, 166,
 168, 173 f, 180 f
- Kaffa 30, 153
 Kaffičo 152
kalata 88 f, 138, 145, 147
kalličča 66 f, 87, 99, 139
kallitti 65, 88, 95, 144, 146
 kallu 42, 53 f, 62
 etymology of 65 f
 kallu and *kalličča* 66
 kallu and ayana 67-83
 address of 68

- expansion of 68, 100 f, 134, 200 f
 opposition to 70
 genealogies of 71, 73
 ritual system of 71 f
 myths of origin 71 f
 succession of 74 f, 144 f, 190
 taboo system of 77 f
 kallu and death 77 f
 confession before 91 f
 prayer of 91 f
 household of 94 f
 recruitment of 95, 188 f
 as clanhead 96 f
 loyalty between 98 f
 congregation of 101 f
 economics of 101 f
 relations between kallus 102 f, 200
 dual character of kallu position 104
 as mediator and judge 112 f
 as 'legislator' 131 f
 background of kallu institution
 135 f
 power of prophecy 141 f
 among the southern Galla 142 f,
 164
 comparison of kallu in Macha and
 Borana 154 f
 charismatic quality of 190, 192
 training of 191 f
 decision making by 191
 communication in kallu institution
 194
 legitimization of 195, 200 f
 co-ordination within kallu
 institution 200 f
 Karayu 143, 145 f, 151
 kinship 41, 134
 kin groups 41
 kin category 41 f
 bilateral kin 42
 'kith and kin' 42
 kinship relations between ayanas 70
 kolla 34
 Konso 65
 korro 109, 115, 183, 194
 Kottu 32
 Krapf, J. L. 13, 90, 160, 169, 173
kulkullu, concept of 52, 67, 137 f
 Kutai 38, 78
 laddu 142, 145, 147
 lafa 49 f, 70
 Lalo 37
 land
 inheritance of 100
 division of 100
 re-distribution of 109
 land dispute 121 f, 123 f, 125 f
 law 131 f, 173 f, 193
 Leach, E. R. 15 f, 46, 105, 186
 Lebena Dengel 37
 Leiris, M. 152
 Leka 33, 179
 Leka Billo 140
 Lewis, G. C. 21
 Lewis, H. S. 13 f, 181 f
 Lévi-Strauss, Cl. 22, 44
 Liban 38, 138, 142, 165, 176, 179, 183
 Lienhardt, G. 45, 49, 82
 life, principle of 59
 cycle of 63
 Limmu 140
 Limmu-Enarya 33
 lineage 37 f, 80, 96, 106, 138, 142, 195
 loan 117, 119 f, 123
 luba 157, 170 f, 176 f
 lubbu 59
 malima 61, 89, 137
 Malinowski, B. 15, 22, 47
 Malizia, N. 151
 Man, concept of 58
 manna 40
 manslaughter 112
 Maram 55, 70, 72 f, 79 f, 87 f, 92, 114
 Marguerita, lake 30, 141, 153
 market village 35 f
 marriage 40, 94 f, 118, 125, 133, 165
 maskal 57
 Massaia, G. 13, 182
 Mati 30, 50, 146
 Mattari 142
 Maximilian of Bavaria 139

- maximizing operationality, concept of 203 f
 mediation 110 f
 Menelik II 109, 171
 Merton, R. K. 198
 Messing, S. D. 152
 Meta 70, 170
 Michels, R. 22
 migration 181
 Miller, F. C. 19
 Mills, C. W. 196
 Mogora Dambalo 180 f
 moiety 30, 142 f, 161, 168, 176
 Mommsen, T. 21
 monarchical system 33, 181
moti 182, 187 f, 189 f, 206
 recruitment of 188 f
 training of 191 f
 decisionmaking in *moti* organization 191 f
 charisma and *moti* 198
muata cult 67
muda ritual 136, 142 f, 150 f, 166
 Muhammed Grañ 37
 murder 41, 128
 myth 44, 49 f, 71 f, 145

 Nabi 52 f, 55, 58
 Nadel, S. F. 23, 45
 name giving 93, 96
 nativistic movement 206
 Nilsson, M. Pn. 63, 83
 Nonno 151
 norms, system of 43
 oda 165
 Oda Bisil 179
 Oda Nabi 170, 176
 Oditu 145 f
 Omer 37
 Oromo 30, 89, 131, 179
 Orthodox Christianity 50, 201
 Orthodox Church *see* Ethiopian Orthodox Church
 Otu 147

 Paris Chronicle 156
 Parsons, T. 197
 Perham, M. 14

 pilgrimage
 to Abba Muda 148 f
 plaintiff 111 f
 Plowden, W. C. 13, 160, 182
 political organization 23, 166
 possession 91 f, 98, 106 f, 152 f, 200
 power, concept of 25
 prayer 91 f
 process of change 16 f, 18 f, 202, 207
 Radcliffe-Brown, A. R. 15, 23, 28
raga 32, 37, 61, 88
 rainmaker 61, 89, 137
 reality, Macha conception of 43 f
 qualities of 44
 suprahuman reality 46
 recruitment
 of *kallu* 95, 188 f
 of *kallu* followers 101, 188 f
 in *gada* organization 188 f
 ritual
 corporateness 42
 concepts 44 f, 48
 action 45
 definition of 46 f
 power 47
 roles 47, 60, 135 f
 topography 56, 63
 ritual fashion of judicial decision 56, 111
 architecture 58
 'anthropology' 60
 ritual and time 61 f
 'rites de passages' 63
 ecstatic ritual technique 67, 70, 91 f, 98, 106, 206
 purification 77
 ritual house 83 f
 prayer 91 f
 ritual specialization 103 f
 ritual sanctions 142, 150 f
 ritual complexes in Ethiopia 151 f
 gada ritual 165 f, 171 f
 Rousseau, J. J. 21
 royal chroniclers 157
 Sabbu 142, 168
 sacrifice 56, 62, 107, 165, 176

- salgano* 91, 108, 114
 Salviac, M. de 13, 90, 149, 183
 Sanbata 62
 sanction 22, 26 f, 110 f, 198 f
sani 110
 Sapira 37, 160
 Sarsa Dengel 156
 segmentation
 of lineage 40 f, 106
 of factions 106
 Selo 147
 Selznick, P. 206
 servants 95 f
setana 53 f, 62, 92
 settlement 35
 sexual life 77, 165, 170
 Sheik Hussein 66
 Shoa 30, 32, 66, 160, 171 f, 180, 206
 Sibu 33
 Sidamo 30, 32, 146
 Simon, H. A. 22, 25, 27, 203, 206
 social change 16, 28, 43
 two types of 16 f
 as oscillation 17
 as fusion-fission 159
 process of 202, 206
 social organization 18
 social structure 15 f, 17
 structure and change 19
 structure of descent groups 39 f
 structural categories of followers
 101
 segmentary structure 159, 177
 Soleillet, P. 13, 169
 Somali 152
 soul 59
 spear symbolism 88, 92
 Stein, L. 22
 succession of *kallu* 74 f, 144 f
 Sullo 68, 72 f, 81, 100, 104, 137
 supernatural, concept of 45
 suprahuman
 concept of 46
 power 47
 supreme being 49
 synchretism 154
 taboo 77 f, 133, 136, 145, 166
tabot 57
teff 62
 theft 118, 122 f
 Thiene, G. da 173
 Tigre 30, 32, 153
 time
 reckoning of 63
 indication of 63
timkat 57
 transhumance 32
 tribe 37 f
 Trimingham, J. S. 14
 'truth' 52, 54, 67, 77, 97, 103, 111 f, 114
 Tsamaka 65
 Tukkor 176
 Tulama 33, 37, 87 f, 136, 141 f,
 148 f, 159 f, 169 f, 184, 187
 Tutschek, K. 138 f
 ultrahuman, concept of 45
 usufruct rights 57
 Uraga 30, 32, 146
wadadja 90, 153
 waka 45, 70, 72, 74, 80 f, 113 f, 150
 concept of 47 f
 Walal 147
 war 158, 165 f
 Ward, B. E. 22
warra 41 f, 96
 warriors 165, 182
 Wata 145 f
 Wayu Guraḏḏa 151
 Weber, M. 167, 175, 192, 196
 verification,
 Macha method of 44
 White, L. D. 22
 Wollabo 151
 Wollega 30, 37, 66
 Wollo 30, 37
 Wolpert, J. 203
worega, system of 97 f, 103, 189
 clients 99
 votive gifts 97
woyna dega 34
zar 67, 92, 152 f
 Zera Jacob 37

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- D'ABBADIE, A.**
 1880 Sur les Oromos, grande nation africaine. *Annales de la société scientifique de Bruxelles*. Vol. IV.
- ALMEIDA, M. DE**
 1628-43 *Historia de Ethiopia a alta ou Abassia*. Translated by Beckingham, C. F., and Huntingford, G. W. B., 1954. *Some records of Ethiopia*. Hakluyt Society. London.
- ASMAROM LEGESSE**
 1963 Class Systems based on Time, *Journal of Ethiopian Studies*. Vol. 1, No. 2, Haile Sellassie I University. Addis Ababa.
- AZAÏS, R. P.**
 1926 Etude sur la religion du peuple Galla. *Revue d'Ethnographie et des Traditions Populaires*. Vol. XVII.
- AZAÏS, R. P., et CHAMBARD, R.**
 1931 *Cinq Années de Recherches Archéologiques en Ethiopie*. Paris.
- BARNARD, CH.**
 1938 *The Functions of the Executive*. Cambridge, Mass.
- BARTH, F.**
 1966 *Models of social organization*. The Royal Anthropological Institute, Occasional Paper No. 23.
- BASSET, R.**
 1881 Etude sur l'histoire d'Ethiopie. *Journal Asiatique*. Vols. XVII, XVIII. Paris.
- BECKINGHAM, C. F., and HUNTINGFORD, G. W. B.**
 1954 *Some Records of Ethiopia (1593-1646)*. Hakluyt Society. London.
- BEKE, C. T.**
 1843 On the Countries South of Abyssinia. *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* XIII.
 1848 On the origin of the Gallas. *Report of the British Association for the Advancement of Science*. London.
- BIDNEY, D.**
 1949 Meta-Anthropology in Northrop, F. S. C., ed. *Ideological Differences and World order*. New Haven.
- BIEBER, F.**
 1923 *Kaffa*. Vol. II. Wien.
- BLAU, P. M., SCOTT, W. R.**
 1962 *Formal Organizations*. San Francisco.

- BLUNDELL, H. W.
 1922 *The Royal chronicle of Abyssinia 1769-1840*. Cambridge.
- BOHANNAN, P.
 1957 *Justice and Judgement among the Tiv*. London.
 1958 Extra-Processual Events in Tiv Political Institutions. *American Anthropologist*. Vol. 60.
 1963 *Social Anthropology*. New York.
- BORELLI, I.
 1890 *Ethiopie Méridionale*. Paris.
- BROWN, P.
 1951 Patterns of Authority in West Africa. *Africa*. Vol. XXI.
- CECCHI, A.
 1885-87 *Da Zeila alla frontiere del Caffa*. Vol. I-III. Roma.
- CERULLI, E.
 1922 *Folk-Literature of the Galla of Southern Abyssinia*. Harvard African Studies III. Cambridge, Mass.
 1930 *Ethiopia Occidentale*. Vol. I. Roma
 1932 Le popolazione del bacino superiore dello Uabi. In Savoia-Aosta, L. A. di, (duca degli Abruzzi). *La esplorazione dello Uabi-Vebi Scebelli*. Milano.
 1933 *Ethiopia Occidentale*. Vol. II. Roma.
- ḤIAB ED-DIN AHMED BEN ABD EL-QADER
 1897 *Futuh al Habash*. Translated by Basset, R., *Histoire de la conquête de l'Abyssinie* (XVIe siècle). Paris.
- EASTON, D.
 1958 The Perception of Authority and Political Change. Friedrich, C. J., ed. *Authority*. Nomos I. Cambridge, Mass.
- ETZIONI, A.
 1961 *A Comparative Analysis of Complex Organizations*. Glencoe, Ill.
- FIRTH, R. W.
 1951 *Elements of social organization*. London.
 1964 *Essays on Social Organization and Values*. London School of Economics. Monographs on social anthropology, 28. London.
- FRIEDRICH, C. I.
 1958 Authority, Reason and Discretion. Friedrich C. J. ed. *Authority*. Nomos I. Cambridge, Mass.
- GELLNER, E.
 1958 Time and Theory in Social Anthropology. *Mind*. Vol. 67. London.
- GERTH, H. H. and MILLS, C. W.
 1958 *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*. New York.
- GLUCKMAN, M.
 1965 *Politics, Law and Ritual in Tribal Societies*. Oxford.

- GLUCKMAN, M. and EGGAN, F. R.
 1965 Introduction to *The Relevance of Models for Social Anthropology*. A. S. A. monographs 1. London.
- GUIDI, I.
 1903, 1905 *Annales Johannis I, Iyasu I, Bakaffa. Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum orientalium, Scriptores Aethiopici, series altera*. V (2 vols.). Paris.
 1907 *Strofe e brevi testi amarici. Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen in Berlin*. Vol. X. *Westasiatische Studien*. Berlin.
- HABERLAND, E.
 1960 *Besessenheitskulte in Süd-Äthiopien. Paideuma VII*.
 1963 *Galla Süd-Äthiopiens. Völker Süd-Äthiopiens. Ergebnisse der Frobenius-Expeditionen 1950-52 und 1954-56. Band II*. Stuttgart.
- HAGGET, P.
 1965 *Locational Analysis in Human Geography*. London.
- HOEBEL, E. A.
 1954 *The Law of Primitive Man*. Cambridge, Mass.
 1958 *Authority in Primitive Societies*. Friedrich C. J., ed. *Authority. Nomos I*. Cambridge, Mass.
- HOBBS, T.
 1904 *Leviathan*, ed. A. R. Waller. Cambridge.
- HOMANS, G. C.
 1951 *The Human Group*. London.
- HUNTINGFORD, G. W. B.
 1955 *The Galla of Ethiopia. The Kingdoms of Kaffa and Janjero*. International African Institute. *Ethnographic Survey of Africa*. London.
- ISENBERG, C. W. and KRAFF, J. L.
 1843 *Journals of the Rev. Messrs. Isenberg and Krapf, Missionaries of the Church Missionary Society, detailing their proceedings in the Kingdom of Shoa and journeys in other parts of Abyssinia in the years 1839 to 1842*. London.
- IZIKOWITZ, K. G.
 1955 *Rhythmical Aspects of Canella Life. Anais do XXXI Congresso International de Americanistas*. Vol. I. São Paulo.
 1962 *Notes about the Tai. The Museum for Eastern Antiquities Bulletin*. No. 34. Stockholm.
- KNUTSSON, K. E.
 1963 *Social Structure of the Mecca Galla. Ethnology*. Vol. II.
 1966 *Information and Control in Field Work. Supplement to Ethnos*. Vol. 31.

- KRAPF, J. L.
1880 *Travels, Researches and Missionary Labours during an eighteen years' residence in Eastern Africa*. London.
- LEACH, E. R.
1954 *Political Systems of Highland Burma. A study in Kachin social structure*. London.
1961a *Pul Eliya. A village in Ceylon. A study of land tenure and kinship*. London.
1961b *Rethinking Anthropology*. London School of Economics. Monographs on Social Anthropology. No. 22. London.
- LEIRIS, M.
1958 *La possession et ses aspects théâtraux chez les Ethiopiens de Gondar*. Paris.
- LEWIS, G. C.
1849 *An Essay on the Influence of Authority in Matters of Opinion*. London.
- LEWIS, H. S.
1965 *A Galla Monarchy; Jimma Abba Jifar, Ethiopia 1830-1932*. Madison and Milwaukee.
- LEVI-STRAUSS, C.
1953 Social Structure in Kroeber, A. L., ed. *Anthropology To-day*. Chicago.
1958 *Anthropologie structurale*. Paris.
- LIENHARDT, G.
1961 *Divinity and Experience*. Oxford.
- MALINOWSKI, B.
1926 *Myth in Primitive Psychology*. London.
1944 *Freedom and Civilization*. New York.
- MALIZIA, N.
1938 La regione del Bale. *Rivista delle Colonie*. Vol. XVI. Roma.
- MARCH, I. G., and SIMON, H. A.
1958 *Organizations*. New York.
- MASSAIA, G.
1886 *I Miei Trentacinque Anni di Missione nell'Alta Etiopia*. Vol. III. Roma.
- MERTON, R. K.
1957 *Social Theory and Social Structure*. Glencoe, Ill.
- MESSING, S. D.
1958 Group therapie and social status in the Zar Cult of Ethiopia. *American Anthropologist*. Vol. 60.
- MICHELS, R.
1930 Authority in *Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences*. Vol. I-II.
- MILLER, F. C.
1965 Cultural change as Decision-Making: A Tzotzil example. *Ethnology*. Vol. IV.

MOMMSEN, TH.

1888 *Römisches Staatsrecht*. 2nd ed. Leipzig.

MORENO, M. M.

1939 *Grammatica della Lingua Galla*. Milan.

NADEL, S. F.

1951 *The Foundations of Social Anthropology*. London.

1954 *Nupe Religion*. London.

NILSSON, M. PN.

1920 *Primitive Time-Reckoning*. Acta Societatis Humaniorum Litterarum Lundensis I. Lund.

1930 Existiert ein primitiver Seelenbegriff? *Actes du 5^e Congrès International d'histoire des religions*. Lund.

PARSONS, T.

1937 *The Structure of Social Action*. New York.

PERHAM, M.

1948 *The Government of Ethiopia*. London.

PLOWDEN, W. C.

1868 *Travels in Abyssinia and the Galla country*. London.

RADCLIFFE-BROWN, A. R.

1940 Foreword in Fortes M., and Evans-Pritchard, E. E., ed. *African Political Systems*. London.

ROSSINI, C. C.

1907 *Historia Regis Sarsa Dengel. Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium. Scriptores Aethiopici, series altera. Tomus III*. Paris.

ROUSSEAU, J. J.

1875 *Contrat Social ou Principes du Droit Politique*. Paris.

SALVIAC, M. DE

1901 *Un peuple antique au pays de Ménelik: les Galla, grande nation africaine*. Paris.

SELZNICK, P.

1949 *TVA and the Grassroots*. Berkeley.

SIMON, H. A.

1957a *Administrative Behaviour. A Study of Decision-Making Processes in Administrative Organization*. 2nd ed. New York.

1957b *Models of Man*. New York.

SOLEILLET, P.

1886 *Voyages en Ethiopie*. Rouen.

STEIN, L.

1923 The Sociology of Authority. *American sociological society*, 18.

THIENE, P. G., DA

1939 *Dizionario della lingua Galla*. Harar.

TRIMINGHAM, J. S.

1952 *Islam in Ethiopia*. London.

TUTSCHEK, K.

1845 *Grammar of the Galla Language*. Munich.

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF ADDIS ABABA

1957 Fieldtrip to Nakamte, ed. Chojnacki, S. *Bulletin of the Ethnological Society*. No. 6.

WARD, B. E.

1965 Varieties of the Concious Model: The Fishermen of South China. *The Relevance of Models for Social Anthropology*. A. S. A. monographs 1. London.

1966 Sociological self-awareness: some uses of the concious models. *Man*. Vol. I. No. 2.

WEBER, M.

1922 *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*. In Grundriss der Sozialökonomik. Tübingen.

1958 *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*. Translated and edited by Gerth, H. H. and Mills, C. W. New York

WHITE, L. D.

1939 *Introduction to the study of Public Administration*. New York.

WOLFERT, J.

1964 The decision process in spatial context. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*.

RETURN TO: ANTHROPOLOGY LIBRARY
 230 Kroeber Hall 642-2400

LOAN PERIOD 1	2	3
4	5	6

All books may be recalled. Return to desk from which borrowed.
 To renew online, type "inv" and patron ID on any GLADIS screen.

DUE AS STAMPED BELOW.

FORM NO. DD2
 5M 4-03

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY
 Berkeley, California 94720-6000



C063479872



PRICE KRONOR 30:—

Printed in Sweden

GÖTEBORG 1967
ELANDERS BOKTRYCKERI AKTIEBOLAG